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THE GOSPEL FOR ASIA

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THE GOSPEL *for* ASIA

A Study of Three Religious Masterpieces:

GITA, LOTUS, AND FOURTH GOSPEL

By

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PREFACE

Are East and West impenetrable to one another? By no means; man is the same everywhere. The interpreters? Go to the sources. . . . Can we find in the knowledge of the East an enrichment of our culture? Yes. In what field—art, letters, philosophy? In all three. What values make the superiority of the West? Christianity.
—Paul Claudel.

The marriage of East and West gave birth long since to civilization. To-day they have met again, and this time, for good or evil, it is an inextricable union. Is it to be one of sympathy, of respect, of partnership—or one of suspicion, contempt, and patronage? Is it to be the old story, tragically re-enacted, of the heavy husband and the temperamental wife? Too often it remains at the even lower level of ruler and ruled, or of employer and employed. India and China are reminding us that they resent this relationship, and that nothing short of true partnership will satisfy them.

At present educated people of East and West are interested in one another, at once attracted and repelled by "the strangeness of the intellectual landscape"; and to enter into the inner shrine of civilizations so different is given to few. That the vast majority are at present not interested is clear. As a French critic puts it, "Are East and West impenetrable to each other? I think that in the East, as in the West, there are brains that nothing can penetrate." Yet any study which helps to bridge the gulf, and to make this difficult task a little simpler, is worth effort and time. The three books here discussed are of central importance in the study of civilizations which make up the best that mankind has yet produced. In reading them we go, as Paul Claudel advises us, to the sources. They are the very citadels of the spirit of man.

To know India one must know the Bhagavad-gita. In all its complexity, its seeming confusion, its rich imagery, its tropical imagination, its blend of high and austere thought with sensuous worship, its mystical devotion and its ancient paganism, it is an epitome of India.

To understand Japan, the Lotus Scripture is almost as important. Chosen by the father of Japanese civilization as the rock upon which to build, it has exercised a strange influence. Not only in the seventh century, when Japanese civilization began, but by Saicho in the ninth century, and by Nichiren in the thirteenth, it was deliberately taken as the greatest of Scriptures, and expounded as the hope of Japan; and its influence on art and architecture will become clear as this fascinating country is studied. Here is great complexity with an underlying unity; here is a polytheistic cultus from which theism emerges; here again is the luxuriance of India becoming naturalized among a people with a genius for simplicity; and here is the old Indian accommodation of truth eagerly welcomed by Japan as a principle in ages of transition. Here are the admirable figures not only of the historic Founder, but also of the compassionate Kwannon and of other deities as tender as they are strong. Almost every village and every house in Japan witnesses to the influence of this strange book.

Of the Fourth Gospel, who shall estimate the significance? It is perhaps only beginning to come into its own, as it becomes known to the mystical and poetic East. But even in the prosaic and literal-minded West it has become the Truth by which men live, alluring them by its very mysticism, comforting them by its other-worldly calm in the midst of their strifes. And of all our busy struggles for life the inner meaning may be found in its words, "I am come that they may have life, and may have it more abundantly." The Logos doctrine has been, and is, a great link between the Greek and Hebrew elements, the basal elements, of our civilization; and this doctrine of the indwelling Reason has been a great factor in our search for truth,

and is to-day once more being offered to us by Dean Inge and others as "our hope for the future" [1] at the very time that Mr. Kirsopp Lake rejects it as a "form of thought which is alien to the world of to-day." [2]

All these Scriptures, in fact, have their critics and opponents, as well as their enthusiastic admirers: much is at stake in accepting or rejecting them.

That they can bring men together, and can help them to understand the unity of civilization, is certain. The European artist, visiting the great galleries of Ajanta, exclaims, "Here is the Capella Sistina of India"; the Japanese artist, standing before these same great frescoes, finds here the cradle of his own civilization, akin to Horiuji in spirit and in technique; and going on to Assisi, he makes the great discovery that its Little Poor Man and his own Saints are of one brotherhood. These are actual experiences of friends of mine, and in my own life there have come similar moments. A similar and much more widespread realization of the unity of civilization is theirs who study the three books which are to one another as the Portiuncula to Ajanta, and as Ajanta to Horiuji.

All three belong to great periods of the springtide of the Spirit, when creative personalities had called forth a response of devotion and gratitude. They are all works of mystical worship of a loving Savior, who reveals the mystery of his infinite compassion in discourses of surpassing power and charm—for those who have the ears to hear. They are Scriptures of incarnation, and all alike would reject any theory of adoptionism, of a man made God. For all of them this is the Eternal speaking in time; and they all realize that a great Idea must tabernacle in human flesh to have redemptive power.

With the strange insight of the mystic, William Blake sings, in "The Auguries of Innocence":

> God appears and God is light
> To those poor souls that dwell in night:
> But does a human form display
> To those that dwell in realms of day.

That India and the Far East, as well as Greece and Palestine, knew God as Light and Love, and yet walked in darkness till this Light blazed forth in a human form, is here revealed. And in studying the theistic movement which centers in Krishna, side by side with that which centers in Jesus, and that which centers in Sakyamuni, we are studying the very kernel of these three great religions, which to-day are making new claims to universality. These claims must be studied, and in studying them we shall learn something of the essential unity of mankind, which is, after all, the key to the understanding of history.

To-day each of these great faiths offers itself as able to serve men and save them from race prejudice, from narrow nationalism, from class warfare—from destruction, in short. These are tremendous claims, and clearly it is not only religious thinkers who are affected; they touch us all. The Buddhist journals are full of such claims to universality. Thus *Buddhist India,* the youngest and perhaps the most scholarly of them, says: "Buddhism is the central force that can bring about a spiritual and cultural unity of the Asiatic nations. It has all the attributes of a world religion. . . . It is the soul force of Asia that will cement the East and the West, and instead of leading to international complications and destructive armed competitions, will make a spiritual conquest of the whole world." [3] In similar vein *The Young East,* of Tokyo, says: "Unless the thought of Mahayana Buddhism dominates the national spirit of the American people, the racial problem in America will never be solved." [4] And the missionaries of Buddhism and of Hinduism are at work among Western peoples, confident that they have the key to these difficult problems.

An admirable statement of the modern Hindu position is to be found in Professor Radhakrishnan's *The Hindu View of Life,* and he makes a good case for the view that the caste system of India, with all its abuses, has one solution to offer of this vexed question of race. In her large tolerance Mother India has allowed free immigration, and has

accommodated herself to the races who have come to her, and them to one another.

That Christianity has no unchallenged supremacy in this matter is clear; even Islam is proving in some things more democratic than the Christian Church. But that Christ, the Son of Man, has the best solution, is also clear. The claims of the Church are well stated by J. H. Oldham: "No greater contribution can be made to the promotion of racial understanding and goodwill than the making known of the Christian Gospel, which by revealing the character and purpose of God gives to all endeavours to establish right relations between men an unassailable foundation in the eternal order; which in the Cross shows us love and sacrifice as belonging to the life of God Himself; which redeems us from the world and raises us above it, and at the same time sends us back into it to live and work and serve in the power of an endless life; and which in teaching us that all that we are and have is God's gift cuts away every ground of superiority and pride and makes possible a real brotherhood on the basis of our common relation to God." [6] The Christian Church is calling a great Œcumenical Council early in 1928 to Jerusalem, to weigh these claims of the religions, and to evaluate their spiritual forces. And the Buddhist Church is calling together men of all religions to meet in the year following at Tokyo, and to discuss the great problem of peace and of the contribution which each religion has to make to it. The three religions studied in this book are clearly the fittest to make such claims. Failing in large measure in the past, they yet have signal victories to record, and great ideals to realize. We who call ourselves by the name of Christ know that in Him is neither East nor West, and that in His Cross is the only motive power strong enough to overcome the tremendous obstacles in the way of unity. Men of the other faiths realize that He is a power unto salvation, and they are coming to see in Him *the* way of life. Meantime, all who seek to serve humanity should ally themselves, should rejoice in one another's faith in the Unseen; and in the

saints which each has produced all will find it easier to believe in God. A League of Religions against the common foe, materialism, would do much to reassure humanity, and to serve the cause of the God of light and love.

But, sooner or later, Christ and Krishna, Krishna and Sakyamuni, become rivals, and the Christian ideal of saint-hood challenges that of Hindu and Buddhist. One of the most significant things of our time is that Sakyamuni is winning a place again for himself in India, and this means that men must choose between him and Krishna. As a Hindu leader said lately, "The only two figures of supreme moral power are Buddha and Christ." And one important community in South India is turning deliberately to Buddhism, and away from the tyrannies of caste. The Gita is in a measure its charter, and the Buddha is its only great Indian critic. Even more amazing is the conversion of educated India to Christ, which is taking place almost "without observation." India is greeting the Son of Man as an Oriental, accepting His standards, rereading the divine in His terms. This universal Christ will conserve and heighten old values, and bring out new ones in the ancient heritage of Asia, and the young Christian Churches of Asia cannot afford to ignore this heritage. A leading Indian Christian has told me how he thrilled on returning to India from the West at the sight of a great Vaishnavite shrine; his patriotism was kindled, and he believed that Christ would not destroy it all. Yet some of it has to go; this book does not seek to ignore the things that are transient and unworthy. All religions have been overlaid with much that is not of the Spirit, and only a true Christianity is good enough for these gifted peoples.

That the Fourth Gospel contains an interpretation of Christ congenial to them becomes daily clearer. Dr. Appasamy's little book, *Christianity as Bhakti,* is one evidence of this; and from China comes the statement from one who has peculiar insight and experience: "After a period of work among the Buddhists stretching over an area of about twenty-four years it is my inmost and sincere conviction

that only by presenting Jesus Christ as the very special and unique revealer of *the eternal logos* (*tao*) as is done in the Fourth Gospel, can the deeper religious souls among the Buddhists be reached by the Christian message. At the same time the greatest stress must be placed upon the *secure and true historicity of Christ.*"

All who drink from the mountain tarns of the Upanishads, or from the lotus pools of the Mahayana, find this doctrine of the immanent Word congenial. He who knows Brahman or Dharmakaya is attuned to the Logos. And, again, all who know the Gita or the Lotus are attuned to the central doctrine of the Fourth Gospel, that of the Word made flesh. "I believe in God through Jesus Christ" is a short and sufficient creed for many lay Christians. "I believe in Brahman through Sri-Krishna" is its analogue for millions of Hindus; and the educated Buddhist of the Far East will confess his belief in the eternal Dharmakaya through the historic Sakyamuni; "the Blessed One is the express image of the Eternal." In a word, neither the problem of the historic Founder nor the problem of the Eternal Order can be truly solved in isolation. Indian, Hebrew, and Greek thought were alike languishing and degenerate till they found embodiment in a god-man. While religions are not schools of philosophy, they yet rise at times to sublime philosophic truth; and these three books seem to claim that there is in the Beloved Person at once a truer philosophy and a more complete revelation of the Godhead than in lists of divine attributes or in metaphysical abstractions.

"Show us the Father, and it sufficeth us"; "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father." We who call ourselves by the Name of Christ need to bring all things—not least our doctrine of God—into subjection to Him. The Fourth Gospel seeks to do this: in using the Logos doctrine as in using Hebrew theology it fills them with new meaning by its central teaching that the Christ is the meaning of both.

Enough perhaps has been said by way of preface to indicate that this book aims to be at once an apologia and

an eirenicon. It is a missionary book inasmuch as it offers the Fourth Gospel to the Oriental world as an expression of the central Christian truth in terms which will appeal most to it. It is also an attempt to build a bridge between this great book and its two Indian contemporaries, which have so sustained and kindled the faith and devotion of great multitudes in Asia. I believe that they have dealt so faithfully with the truth as it has been revealed to them that they have a wonderful contribution to make to the Church of Christ. Their mysticism, their bhakti or devotion to the Lord, their belief in the compassionate spirit and in the power of Love, these surely are rich gifts which that Church needs. And their theology arising on different soil is a remarkable confirmation of the central truths of the Church Universal. The old argument *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus* here finds an even wider application than any which has yet been made.

Here are doctrines of the Divine Personality, of a Godhead whose complex Being is revealed in a life manifest in time, and in a continued Presence. If these great doctrines are found to be the crowning achievement of religious thought, the most philosophic expression of a profound and widespread experience, then we surely have here an indication that they are true. The most richly endowed peoples, Hebrew, Greek, Indian, Chinese, and Japanese, have found in this central doctrine of Incarnation the satisfaction of their deepest need, and the expression of their loftiest thought.

This book is offered as a contribution to the study of theological beliefs which still hold the allegiance of many of the best minds of our time, as they have held the allegiance of great thinkers in Asia as in Europe for nearly two thousand years.

I am glad to express my indebtedness to the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation which enabled me to revisit Asia and to verify or correct some things which I had written in the original draft of this book. It was given as lectures in the Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley; and

the University of Chicago and Union Seminary, New York, allowed me to give some portions of it to their students. To Professors Haydon, Hume and Fleming I owe my thanks; and to Lynda Blake and Frances Darwin I am deeply indebted for the Index. Who would write a book if he had also to make this record of his own verbosity?

K. S.

Berkeley, October, 1927.

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THE GOSPEL FOR ASIA

THE GOSPEL FOR ASIA

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Alas! A jeweler has come into the garden;
He would test the lotus on his touchstone!

So, Rabindranath Tagore tells us, a strolling singer of Bengal rebuked one who explained the meaning of his song —a love-song to Krishna. Many a devout soul would echo this protest against any attempt at a critical approach to great works of religious art. The three great books which we are to study are the bread of life to unnumbered millions, most of whom have never dreamed of the problems of criticism. Yet the critic may also be a worshiper. The student who knows the plan and history of a great cathedral finds it no harder to worship there than the ignorant villager. Is his worship not more reverent for being informed?

Great works of literary art are like great buildings, with a definite plan and structure. To know this is to read them intelligently. The Fourth Gospel, the Bhagavad-gita, and the Saddharma-pundarika are eminently such works of mature art, and do not lack architectonic quality. We shall find in them not only a carefully worked out ground plan, but elaborate superstructures; they are like temples, calling men to worship and to study.

The Fourth Gospel follows very closely the plan of an early Christian basilica; the Gita that of a Vaishnavite shrine; and the Lotus, while it seems to lack architectonic quality, resembles some forms of Buddhist architecture, with its crowded figures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas; and

like such buildings it gradually reveals to us an underlying unity of plan.

These books were taking their present form while Christian basilica, Buddhist chaitya and Hindu vimana were also coming into being. The forerunners of these were no doubt familiar to the writers. The author of the Lotus must have known such stupas as those set up by Asoka, with their circular procession paths and worship of relics; the author of the Gita knew the chanting of the Vedic hymns and the cult of the sun god Vishnu. And about these cults they must have seen early architectural forms springing up. Nor is it unlikely that Greek and Persian buildings, such as the temple at Taxila, were known to them. The Fourth Evangelist was certainly familiar with Greek temples like the soaring and richly sculptured Artemisium at Ephesus, the "wonder of the world," and with the Temple of Herod at Jerusalem, destroyed during his own lifetime. Pagan basilicas were also familiar places of merchandise and public business.

Our three authors, then, wrote works which were to influence the architecture of their religions at its most formative period, and we cannot doubt that their work inspired the architects, who were devout men working under the direction of the religious leaders. The process may be seen at work if we think of the founder of Japanese civilization, Shotoku, who in the sixth century of our era deliberately chose the Lotus Scripture as the foundation for Japanese culture. A concise commentary written in his own hand is among the imperial treasures of Japan, and contemporary pictures exist showing this great layman expounding it. Not only did his plans for such buildings as the Shitennoji, a temple on the Inland Sea, and the monastic college at Horiuji, take their origin in a mind devoted to the Lotus Scripture; they reflect careful and critical study of this great work.

The oldest building in Japan is probably the pagoda of Horiuji; it enshrines a scene of the Nirvana of Sakyamuni, and is itself an elaboration of the early stupa. The Kondo,

or Hall, belonging to the early seventh century, has upon its great altar a masterpiece of bronze sculpture which was put up just after the death of the founder, and represents the Sakyamuni of the Lotus. Next to him stands Yakushi, the healing Buddha, and in the nunnery nearby is a matchless image of the compassionate Avalokitesvara. These attractive figures are also prominent in the Lotus.

We may picture the great Shotoku, clad in the sumptuous robes of Chinese brocade still preserved at Nara, presiding in person at the ceremony of the dedication of this college, where monks were to devote themselves to the study of the Lotus, and to its dissemination as a great missionary book among the masses. And if it be objected that Horiuji is but a copy of Chinese and Korean prototypes, they in turn were the works of architects instructed and guided by scholars who knew the great Mahayana books by heart.

The Gita, with its careful division into three main sections and its central mystery, may by a similar process have inspired early architects in their work of building worthy temples. These they made with a central shrine, or garbhagriha, surrounded by a procession path and pillared porticoes. An elaboration of the Indian house inspired by the thought that the god must have a worthy home, it was perhaps inspired also by the great Scripture which reveals the god's nature and teaching. It too has its entrance porch, its porticoes, and its inner shrine, as Krishna introduces himself, expounds his unifying lessons, and reveals his mystic nature.

Such then are these books, and we may enter into the spirit of their architects, at once devout and analytic. For the study of books like these, which are citadels of living religion, is not a matter of merely antiquarian interest. The jeweler must use not only the touchstone of reason but also the judgment of the artist; he may dissect the Lotus, if he has first enjoyed its fragrance and beauty. Let us fit ourselves for the task of the critic by joining the worshipers at these shrines.

We may take as representing Vaishnava architecture at its best and purest the lovely little temple at Somnathpur, now almost deserted, yet perfect in its rich sculptures and its beautiful proportions. The pilgrims enter such a shrine newly bathed and clad in fresh garments, bringing flowers and fruit. They come in families, blending the joys of picnic and pilgrimage; and it is a cheerful throng that pours through the Eastern Gate into the stone-flagged courtyard, or antarala. They have been up since dawn to worship the rising sun; and if they are orthodox highcaste Hindus they have chanted the ancient Vedic salutation: "Let us contemplate the adorable radiance of the Divine Lifegiver. May He guide our minds."[1] As if in answer to this prayer the beams of the strong Indian sun, rejoicing in his strength, light up the intricate sculptures, and throw them into bold relief. Vishnu was originally a sun god, and the three pillared porticoes may represent his "three strides" as he seems to climb the heavens. The sculptures often illustrate these cosmic activities; and as the procession winds sunwise through the courtyard, with right hands toward the central shrine, they see him under many shapes. Here he is Narasimha, the man-lion; and here with many arms he holds up the sky, and wields the discus, conch, and other symbols of his all-pervading power. It is so that the transfigured Krishna reveals himself to Arjuna in the Gita. Here again he is seen dancing with Ganapati, the elephant-god, a dance which symbolizes his lila, or "sport." Here again he is the young cow-herd, Venugopala, forever young and forever dear to India. Around him are the cattle, charmed by his flute, and in his halo are all ten avatars of Vishnu. Before him the pilgrims linger, happy that he is their friend; and then they pass into the central shrine, where a vast image of Vishnu fills the gloom with its mysterious presence. Awed and silent at last, the gay throng offers flowers and fruit, candles and camphor, and listens to the solemn chanting of the Brahmin. He intones the Sanskrit slokas of the Purusa Sukta hymn of the Rig Veda, which has been well called the Charter of Caste:

The Brahmins came from the Great Being's mouth:
From his arms sprang the Ksatriyas:
The Vaisyas came from his thighs,
The Sudras from his feet.[2]

This ended, he gives to each pilgrim a sip of water from the ablutions of the god, and some fruit from the offerings, which they eat as a solemn sacrament. Then as they pass out again into the bright sunshine, they are free to study the elaborate sculptured scenes from the Epics and Puranas, and the many images of Vishnu and other gods. It may be that someone will be found to instruct them in the Scriptures of Vaishnavism, such as the Gita, or the less lofty Bhagavad Purana, which delights in the amours of Krishna. Or, what is more probable, they will listen to some bard reciting in popular language exploits of the heroes of old from the Mahabharata, which the sculptures also serve to popularize.

It was in such ways and for such audiences that the Epic itself, and the Gita which is part of it, were gradually composed by wandering minstrels at camp-fire and well-side. There, at the time of day known as "cow-dust," when the air is golden with the light of the setting sun, Indians love to gather after the work of the day. It is so that their culture has come down for three thousand years or more. I shall never forget the eager throngs of pilgrims at a mela in Bengal. Under a great banyan they listened to a little company of strolling minstrels, who sang love-songs to Krishna with ecstatic joy; and as the sun went down and the stars came out and were reflected in the broad river below, the spirit of ancient India seemed to brood over the camp. The little wagons of the pilgrims have not changed since their Aryan forbears poured into the plains, and their worship is still that of old nature-gods like Vishnu.

A Vaishnavite shrine is then an elaboration of an ancient sun-temple, and the vitality of Vaishnavism to-day is due to the identification of Krishna, perhaps originally a dark moon-god of the aborigines, first with an Aryan hero, and then with Vishnu, one of the sun-gods of the invaders. He

has been the living center of their devotion since the author of the Gita set him up as Vishnu dwelling among men.

The architecture of the Gita is simple, and conforms closely to that of the sun-temple. Its entrance-gate is a brief prologue in which we are introduced to the hero-god Krishna on the field of Kurukshetra. He is urging the reluctant Arjuna to fight, to do his part as a Kshatriya; and gradually the actual field of battle is sublimated into a warfare of the spirit, and the drama becomes a mystery play, with the god as chief spokesman. It consists of three main sections, each made up of six books, which correspond to the pillared porticoes of the shrine. Here the three "ways" of yoga—karma or action, bhakti, or devotion, and jñana or intuition—are set forth and reconciled; for at the heart of the book is the revelation of Krishna as friend and savior. If all is done as to him, then all ways lead to the goal. The great gopurams, or towers, of a south Indian shrine are masses of sculpture on a central pyramid representing the One behind the many; beyond the innumerable gods and demons is the one Brahman, alone Real. This is the keynote of Indian art, as of Indian religion.

That of Buddhist thought is the allied doctrine—that beyond the changing is the Unchangeable. The purpose of the Gita being to harmonize the different ways of religion, that of the Lotus Scripture is to show the One Way of the new Buddhist gospel behind the many ways of Buddhist schools, and the one eternal Buddha behind the many Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. It is largely because of these thronging figures that the book seems to lack unity and plan, and it is also spoiled by additions made by later hands. In this too it resembles one of the intricate temples of northern Buddhism with their scattered shrines; but the original work may be compared to a contemporary chaitya, such as the great cave of Karli in the Western Ghats. This belongs to about the first century B.C., though some of its sculptures are of a later date. It is entered by a pillared and sculptured porch over which is a great semicircular sun-window, and this suffices to light up its lofty vaulted roof of

very ancient timbers, and its rows of massive stone pillars with bell-shaped capitals supporting stone elephants.

These pillars—fifteen at each side—serve also to form the aisles of a procession path which passes behind the noble stupa at the west end, simply yet finely adorned with a double border of basket-work design.

Here there is no image of the Buddha—the object of worship is this simple stupa or reliquary. But in similar caves at Ajanta and at Ellora the stupa is seen developing into an altar, with the Eternal Sakyamuni seated on it. As in the Lotus, so in these caves, he is the central object of worship; and at Ajanta the glorious frescoes of his human life, and of his births in human or animal form, remind the worshiper that he was once an historic figure. The Lotus aims at giving man a personal god who is at the same time universal and eternal. In some of these caves too, as in the Lotus, we see great Bodhisattvas depicted in works of art which Western scholars do not hesitate to compare with the masterpieces of Michelangelo; and here there are rows of Buddhas, apparitions whom Sakyamuni causes to appear. But they too only serve to enhance his glory, as they point on to the diamond throne where he sits in contemplation.

It is easy to picture a service in one of these ancient cave-temples, whose walls are still a unique treasury of early Indian art. Here before us is spread the pageant of its rich and varied life, a foil to the calm and compassionate figure of the Buddha. The monk was called to leave the joys of the senses for the higher joys of the spirit; and the frescoes are also a record of his love of nature in all her varied moods. Here are great herds of elephants, drawn from life, here peacocks and apes remind us that it is the lonely places that delight the monk; and everywhere there is a faithful study of nature, made by men who observed her with a loving eye, and then drew their memory pictures. We may imagine the fine, shaven heads and the thin, intellectual faces of these Indian monks, standing out from this rich background of browns and greens and reds, still vivid

after eighteen centuries. They pass silently out of their cells, and file into the chaitya with measured step and downcast eyes. The old simple formula of worship, "I take refuge in the Three Jewels—the Buddha, the Sangha, and the Dharma," no longer suffices. There has come down to us a highly developed form of service composed by the great poet Asvaghosa, whose noble Epic, the Buddha-carita, seems to have inspired many of the frescoes. It delights, as they do, to set the voluptuous charms of Indian women over against the cold young ascetic, and to surround him with the demon-armies of Mara the Tempter. It is a great work of art, and the service which the poet wrote may well have been known to the author of the Lotus. A description of it by the Chinese pilgrim I Tsing has come down to us; and Asvaghosa is revealed as a liturgist as well as a philosopher and poet:

In the West (India) they perform the worship of a Caitya and the ordinary service late in the afternoon, or at the evening twilight. All the assembled priests come out of the gate of their monastery, and walk three times round a Stupa, offering incense and flowers. They all kneel down; and a good singer from among them begins to chant hymns upon the virtues of the Great Teacher with a melodious, clear, and sonorous voice; and continues to sing ten or twenty slokas. Then they return to the place of assembly in the monastery, and when all of them have sat down, a Sutra-reciter, mounting the Lion-seat (Simhasana), reads a short Sutra. The graceful Lion-seat is placed near the Abbot. Among the scriptures which are to be read on such an occasion the "Service in Three Parts" is often used. It is a selection by the venerable Asvaghosa. The first part, containing ten slokas, consists of a hymn in praise of the Three Honorable Ones—the Buddha, the Law and the Order. The second part is a selection from the words of the Buddha.

After the reading there is another hymn; this is the third part of the service; and consists of more than ten slokas, prayers that the merit of the assembly may come to fruition.

When this is ended, all the assembled priests exclaim "Subhasita" that is, "Well spoken," or "Sadhu"—"Well done." In such words the scriptures are extolled.

After the Sutra-reciter has descended, the head priest rises and bows to the Lion-seat. That done, he salutes the seats of the saints, and then returns to his own. Now the priest second in rank rises and salutes them in the same manner, and then bows to the Abbot.

When he has returned to his own seat, the priest third in rank performs the same ceremonies; and in the same manner do all the priests in turn. But if a great crowd be present, after three or five have taken part in the ceremony, the remaining priests salute the assembly, and go out at will.

The great Asvaghosa was probably a contemporary of the author of the Lotus; and this service seems to enshrine the spirit of the Mahayana, while it keeps true to the essentials of earlier Buddhism. Its elements are not unlike those of a Christian service: there is praise, a statement of belief, scripture-reading, and prayer; and there is also a ceremonious ritual, such as the bowing to the stupa, where relics were enshrined, and to the "Lion-seat," and the "Seats of the Saints." As we have seen, the pradakshina was a solemn procession round the chaitya and stupa, and the service seems to be without climax. There is no central mystery, and like much of the early Buddhist architecture it seems to be lacking in the sense of progress; it goes round and round, not on and up.

The early Christian basilica was a development of Greek and Hebrew predecessors, as it was the forerunner of the Gothic cathedral; and in it, as in the Fourth Gospel, we enter upon a world of thought in which the idea of progress has been taken over by the Christian from Greek and Hebrew. Of the worship of the early Church we have full evidence. In the New Testament is the record of the institution by Jesus Himself of the Eucharist, a feast of thanksgiving, which has always been the central mystery of the Church.[3]

The Acts of the Apostles tell us that the members of the early Church gathered in their homes on week days, and on the first day of the week for fellowship, teaching, the breaking of the bread, and prayers.[4] The service seems to have been elastic and free. Like the Buddhists, they hailed the reading of the Scripture, saying "Amen"—"So be it." They seem to have had a formula or confession of faith used at baptisms, and perhaps at other services: "I believe that Jesus Christ was the son of God"; [5] and hymns or liturgical

formulae are suggested in such passages as Ephesians v. 14, "Awake, thou that sleepest: arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light." We may imagine the little company of the faithful, as the simple service developed and the Christian adaptation of the basilica came into being, chanting such words antiphonally, as they passed from the nave to the choir and on to the altar, or table of the Lord's Supper. The celebrant, as Dr. Dearmer has suggested, may have used as a common anaphora the solemn recitation, "He who was manifested in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory." From a second-century fresco in the catacomb of St. Priscilla we know how simple a service it was. We see the celebrant, perhaps a bishop, clad in pallium and tunic, seated at a table, and about him are five men and one woman. He is breaking the bread, and on the table, which is covered by a linen cloth, is a two-handled cup, a platter with loaves and another with fishes, the well-known symbols of Christ. Contemporary with this painting is an account of the eucharistic meal given by Justin Martyr, which will be found in the Appendix. Here it may be sufficient to note that within a few decades, at most, of the writing of the Fourth Gospel the Church had a solemn and impressive service in which are the elements of the noble communion service of the English Book of Common Prayer. It is a service commemorating the great mysteries of the Passion and Resurrection; and the Fourth Gospel had much influence in shaping its liturgies. From a Fourth Century Book of Prayers of the Egyptian Bishop Serapion we have a noble anaphora,[6] of which the following words are very Johannine:

> Thou art the fount of Life, the fount of Light,
> The fount of all Grace and all Truth,
> O lover of men, O lover of the poor,
> Who reconcilest thyself to all, and drawest all to Thee,
> Through the sojourning with men of Thy beloved Son;
> Make us, we beseech Thee, living men. Give unto us
> The spirit of Light, that we may know Thee as true
> And Him whom Thou didst send, even Jesus Christ.[7]

With such prayers and with the Sanctus, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts; Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory!" the service of institution proceeded to its climax, and it is clear that the liturgy both molds and is molded by the form of the church building, as that, in turn, was shaped by the Fourth Gospel.

The Gospel is like the basilica in form and symbolism. The Prologue is a kind of porch of the Logos, with its three great arches of Light, Life, and Love: and here we are prepared, as in the prologue of a Greek drama, for the mystery to be enacted. In the main section of the book, which ends with the coming of the Greeks in Chapter XII, Darkness is seen at war with Light, as men take up various attitudes to Christ. Then we are taken on and up into a quiet place, where He withdraws to be alone with His disciples, and to prepare Himself and them for the greater conflict which is to come. This part of the book ends with Chapter XVII, and in the next three chapters we are in the Holy of Holies. Light, Life, and Love are seen in a death-struggle with Darkness, Death, and Hate; they seem for a moment to go under, only to rise to final victory.

All these books are, in fact, works of dramatic art, and the teaching of all is given in the form of monologues which reveal the nature and mission of the Speaker. The matter is very carefully selected and arranged. Thus the Fourth Evangelist arranges his material in seven great discourses beginning with the words "I am." These illustrate stupendous miracles, or "signs," also carefully chosen to show His glory. Here we have as it were great symbolic scenes in mosaic, each with its text. And everywhere there is evidence of reflection and artistic arrangement of material. The work of a great biographer and still more that of a great dramatist is a work of selection like that of the painter and the lyric poet.

"Nature," wrote Wordsworth of a lesser poet, "does not allow an inventory of her charms. He should have left his pencil behind, and gone forth in a meditative spirit: and on a later day he should have embodied in verse, not all he had noted, but what he best remembered

of the scene: and he should then have presented us with its soul, and not with the mere visual aspect of it." [8]

These words, quoted by a recent writer on the Fourth Gospel, express very clearly the method of the great artist. Ancient canons of Chinese art emphasize this attempt to express the soul of things behind their outward forms, "to express the spiritual element which informs the rhythm of things." "It is enough to portray the parts of a subject where the thoughts are manifest," says Kuo Hsi of portrait painting; and of portraying nature, "The artist must place himself in communion with hills and streams." Humanity is one, and true artists of all races agree. As we have seen, the very essence of Indian art is this same attempt to get at the meaning and unity behind the outer show of forms: "To suggest the formless Infinity hidden behind the physical world of form . . . to wean the mind from the obvious to the hidden Reality."

We may be sure, then, that the anonymous writers of our three great books worked in this way. The author of the Fourth Gospel tells us that he has given us but a small selection of the works and words of Jesus, and it is clear that he brooded long and lovingly before he wrote. He expresses his own experience in interpreting his Lord. Consciously or unconsciously he uses words and phrases from the mystery religions, and takes the great Greek concept of Logos, with its kinship to the Wisdom of the Hebrews, which it helped to mold, as a vessel for his thoughts. Nor need we be surprised to find him dramatizing some great idea by describing an incident which is no more real history —yet more really true—than the meeting of Krishna and Arjuna, or than the Eternal Sakyamuni on the Heavenly Vulture Peak of the Lotus. These books are all "spiritual," as Origen says of the Fourth Gospel. They are allegorized truth, and present us with spiritual realities in dramatic form.

Part of the tragedy of Christian history has been the tendency to read poetry as prose, and prose as poetry. The Evangelist insists that we plant our feet firm on the rock of

history, and refuse to have it explained away; yet he insists that it is the spirit that matters. "The Word became flesh"; yet "the flesh profits nothing" without the Spirit. "Art," says a Chinese aphorism, "produces something beyond the form of things, though its import lies in possessing the form." The Gita also begins with the historic fact; there *was* a Krishna on the field of Kurukshetra; he *did* win acceptance as a demigod, and finally as the supreme god amongst his fellow countrymen. For the rest the author is not concerned to assert that he actually spoke the words of the long philosophic discourses which make up the bulk of the Gita. For these he draws upon the texts of the Upanishads, and upon any other source available. Probably Krishna himself did this as an early theistic teacher. Certainly Sakyamuni did it. He used current proverbs and folklore as well as aphorisms of the thinkers of the Upanishads. That Jesus used whatever was best in the Old Testament is also clear. He was an artist, as well as a great thinker, and He selected and rejected, as the artist must.

All three writers carry on the method the Founders had begun. They have authority, accepted as divine, for doing so. And they interpret their Masters as freely as Plato interprets Socrates—at times as freely as Shakespeare interprets Julius Caesar. They give us the best interpretation we have. It is sheer ingratitude and folly to reject their work because it is "unhistoric."

I think all critics would agree that there is more biography and less allegory in the Fourth Gospel than in the two Indian books. The author is a Jew, and history meant much more to him.

What is not so generally accepted is that the Synoptic Gospels are also interpretations rather than biographies. The Fourth Gospel does for mankind what St. Matthew does for Jewish Christians and St. Luke for the Roman world, and it is acceptable, as we shall see, to thoughtful Asiatic minds, as it was to Greek and Roman. It sets free the Christ from the local and accidental, and speaks in words

which India, China, and Japan already accept as eternal categories. The Gita has prepared the Indian mind, the Lotus has attuned the mind of the Far East, for Him who is Life and Love and Light.

The three great religions—Hinduism, Buddhism, and Christianity—which have produced such different symbols, are different, even if they are akin. The ideal of Hinduism is the One Reality, the Brahman. All else is maya, "illusion," lila, "sport." This Reality may take human form as in Krishna; yet in the Inner Shrine looms the vast and awful Vishnu, and the devotee is haunted by the sense of unreality. Is Krishna not also maya? His activities, are they not lila?

The ideal of Buddhism is the unchanging calm of Nirvana, above and beyond this changing world. And this is symbolized and embodied in the great Muni or Yogi, seated in meditation: "The Blessed One is the express image of the Eternal." It is an image with closed eyes, and hands folded in contemplation, which is the true symbol of essential Buddhism.

The ideal of Christianity is the Real God, with whom to commune is to reach Reality, and who is best seen in the great symbol of the Cross, which is His glory, and sets forth His inner nature. "He who hath seen me hath seen the Father." In the Hindu Holy of Holies, Vishnu, the omnipresent; in the Buddhist, Sakyamuni; in the Christian, the Crucified. From these ideals there issues in each case a corresponding ideal of sainthood. All are lofty, but they are not the same; and we may make this clear by watching the worshipers as they leave the shrine and pass out into the life of the world once more.

It is here that the great question is being decided, Which of these great faiths shall be the religion of mankind? If the Vaishnavite can say, "I believe in Brahman through Sri Krishna," and if the Buddhist can say, "I believe the eternal Dharma through Sakyamuni," the Christian says, "I know God in Jesus Christ." Proof of this tremendous claim can only be made if he dare also say, with his Master, "Have I

been so long with you, and you have not seen the Father?" A missionary, invited to tell a great Buddhist conference what he believed, used the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel. The chairman, a Chinese Buddhist, exclaimed as he finished, "Now we know that your Christ is the true Logos; but," he added, with true Chinese logic, "what is more important is that we incarnate him in our lives."

ii

The study of these great books, then, is of practical as well as scientific interest. In the first place, all who are concerned directly or indirectly in the mission work of the Christian Church in Asia should know the noblest expressions of Asiatic religion. The Church of Asia must be built on these great foundations, and the stones of these great temples await her use, as the Basilica of St. John at Ephesus was built of the stones of the Artemisium. The Hindu and Buddhist will be interested in what the sympathetic Christian thinks about their great books, and may welcome a further study of the Gospel most congenial to them. To the Christian theologian any new light upon the vexed Johannine problem is welcome; and in setting it in its widest context as one phase of a larger and older problem—that of the reconciliation of religious experience with philosophic thought—it may be that this study will prove suggestive. Nor do I hesitate to say that the method adopted here, of comparing three religions in their highest phases, is one which deserves the attention of the anthropologist, who has tended to neglect the higher ranges of human endeavor. To the general reader the study of other religions is necessarily a somewhat technical affair; but interest in what is strangely called "Comparative Religion" is growing, and is increasingly in need of guidance. Hasty generalizations are common; accurate knowledge is rare. This study may help to convince all who are interested in this field that religion at its best is the noblest of human activities, and that it may become the chief bond uniting the races. The earnest student will desire to know in what the great religions differ,

as well as in what they agree. I know of no better way of reaching such knowledge than by such a study as is attempted here.

The comparative study of religions may be a singularly fruitless occupation; but it may be one of real significance. To compare two great and complex systems like Hinduism and Christianity is almost certainly to become involved in generalizations, and even in the barren and unscientific pursuit of setting a higher phase of religion over against a lower. In practice, it often becomes a matter of selecting the best within the higher phase to contrast with the worst within the lower.

The danger of this is obvious. Generalizations are seldom satisfactory, and when they deal with great and complex systems are always misleading. "Let us take care"; says Professor de la Vallée Poussin, "it is seldom possible to say anything of Buddhism, of which the opposite cannot be affirmed and proved." [9] Yet this note of warning is seldom heeded. To take a recent example I may cite no less profound a scholar than Dr. Albert Schweitzer, author of *The Quest of the Historic Jesus*. In his recent lectures on *Christianity and the Religions of the World* Dr. Schweitzer exclaims: "How often have I had to point out that Brahmanism and Buddhism are not religions for ordinary men, but solely for monks. . . . They have nothing to offer to any but those whose circumstances enable them to withdraw from the world and to devote their lives to self-perfection, beyond the sphere of deeds." [10]

These are at best half-truths. The Founder of Buddhism established a third order of lay people, and the Greater Vehicle aims at just such a liberalizing of the monastic form of Buddhism as to make it "a religion for ordinary men." The essence of the Saddharma-pundarika or Lotus Scripture, is that all are potentially Buddhas; it is this which makes it a gospel. Brahmanism itself, aristocratic and priestly as it is, finds a place for each of the castes; and, as is becoming clearer every day, much of its noblest thinking was the work of laymen. The Bhagavad-gita is essentially

"a layman's Upanishad," and cannot be regarded as opposed in its present form to Brahmanism, which has made terms with its earlier teaching, edited it, and now holds it to be entirely orthodox. It is true that Dr. Schweitzer distinguishes between Brahmanism and Hinduism, but in view of the amazing adaptability of the former the distinction is no longer valid, and in dealing with the Gita he lays too little stress on the fact that it is essentially a gospel for laymen.

Another brilliant generalization is this of George Santayana: "Buddhism had tried to quiet a sick world with anaesthetics; Christianity sought to purge it with fire." [11] It is a striking statement with some truth in it; yet Buddhism began with a ringing call to energy, and in fact sought to stab man awake rather than to put him to sleep, bidding him "keep vigil amidst the sleepers." It was a moral tonic rather than an anaesthetic;[12] and though it *is* essentially monastic it has produced amazing civilizations. What Santayana says of Buddhism might serve as a description of some periods of Christianity; for while it does offer a sword, and sends fire upon earth against the powers of darkness, it yet calls men to an other-worldly peace. The first Christian century was lived in the belief that the world was coming to a speedy end; and men have been apt at other troublous times to use Christianity as an opiate, and to retreat from an evil world. Yet the by-products of this monasticism, as of that of the Buddhists, are among the noblest things that world has seen; and who can estimate the dynamic of these fastnesses of prayer and meditation, which our age has too lightly condemned?

All religions which are worth man's allegiance contain both moral stimulus and antidote for pain. They seek to send fire on earth, but also to ease the soul which cannot be wholly content with earthly things. They at once provoke and offer to assuage a discontent that is itself divine. Buddhism holds out the promise of Nirvana; but this is, as we shall see, the end of passion as well as of pain, and the way to it is strenuous moral endeavor. Christianity holds out

the promise of eternal life and peace, but the way to it is a Cross.

A third generalization may be quoted from another careful and profound scholar. "Christianity," says Dr. Alfred Whitehead, "has always been a religion seeking a metaphysic in contrast to Buddhism which is a metaphysic generating a religion." [13] Here again there is some truth. Yet, as we shall see, Buddhism, like Christianity, began as a way of salvation; Sakyamuni was a religious teacher, not a philosopher. He warned men against metaphysical subtleties which do not tend to salvation. That there are metaphysical elements in Buddhism is true; it sprang up on Indian soil, and could no more ignore the doctrines of samsara and karma than Christianity, springing up on Semitic soil, could ignore the doctrines of creation and providence. Christianity, again, however little metaphysical it may be, has in it from the start the doctrine of personality, and if, as Dr. Whitehead says, the most valuable part of the doctrine of Buddhism is perhaps its interpretation of the life of the Buddha, that is because the doctrine of personality has become the master light of all our seeing. In spite of the central Buddhist metaphysic, "All is transient," Buddhists soon saw in their Master's life something of permanent and abiding value, and found in his religion a deeper philosophic truth than the borrowed metaphysical dress in which he seems to have clothed it. What gave his word authority was that he had experienced truth. What made Buddhism a religion was that he claimed in this experience to have found salvation.

These three points—that Buddhism was a lay religion as well as a monasticism, that it called men to the strenuous life as well as to quietism, and that its Founder was a religious teacher whose person played a very important part in his religion—these are essential truths. And if we find them misunderstood by our most brilliant Western scholars, it is evidence at once of the strange neglect of Eastern thought in the Occident, and also of the impossibility in this field of successful generalization.

Great religions are too complex for generalizations to be of much value. No two Hindu thinkers agree as to what is essential Hinduism, and the world is divided as to what is central in Christianity. The poignant fact about the present controversy between conservatives and modernists is that both are contending for what they believe to be fundamental. "Our all," they cry with Athanasius, "our all is at stake."

To compare religions as a whole is then misleading. Another method, that of the anthropologist, is to seek out the humble beginnings of religion, and to find an explanation of it there. This is less unscientific, but it is also very precarious. The beginnings of religion are buried in the remotest past, and the savage of to-day is by no means necessarily the analogue of primitive man. The method of anthropology may therefore also be misleading, unless it is carefully balanced by a study of religion in its intermediary and higher forms. The real nature of the acorn cannot be understood until we have seen an oak. Anthropology is the science of man, and civilized men are at least as much men as are uncivilized.

This book, then, is a contribution to this part of a vast and growing science. It seeks out the highest and most readily comparable expressions of three great and complex religions—three books which express similar phases of religious development, and which indeed set themselves to the same great task of winning men to a Gracious Lord, for whom it is claimed that he is the Eternal manifest in time, and that His gospel is for all men. These books are at once the noblest intellectual statement and the most moving and tender embodiment of the ideals of three great faiths, and are beyond question the most popular of scriptures, not only with their own followers, but also with those of other creeds. They succeed in mediating religion alike to East and West; and they are moreover to-day in actual daily contact throughout the civilized world, but especially of course in Asia. A comparison of them is no mere academic exercise. Vital issues are at stake.

There is no Hindu Scripture so beloved in India as the Bhagavad-gita, or, to give it its full name, the Bhagavad-gitopanishad, and none which is accepted as so typical of Indian religion at its best. "The influence of this book upon the spiritual life of India can be estimated," says Mohini Chatterji, "by the fact that within the last twelve centuries no great teacher has lived who has not commented upon it." [14] Of these commentators the greatest is Sankaracharya, who calls it the "collected essence of all the Vedas." He is the greatest of all Vedantists, and it is probable, as we shall see, that the Gita is a redaction of an earlier work in the interests of the Vedanta. "The discourse of Krishna," says Kasinath Telang, its well-known Indian translator, "contains the essence of the most spiritual phases of Brahmanist teaching, and is expressed in language of such depth and sublimity that it has become deservedly known as the Bhagavad-gita, or 'Divine Song.' " [15]

Tributes from Western scholars are no less enthusiastic, from the rapturous panegyric of August Schlegel to the more critical appreciation of Richard Garbe and Nicol Macnicol. "Thee first I greet," said Schlegel, addressing its unknown author in his Latin edition of 1823, "most holy poet, offspring of the godhead . . . whose mystic mind was rapt in the most high, eternal and divine." [16] "No other product of Indian religious literature," says Richard Garbe, "is worthy to hold a place by the side of the Bhagavad-gita." [17] Dr. Macnicol's estimate, if more critical, is no less exalted: "In its intellectual seriousness, its ethical nobility and its religious fervor the Bhagavad-gita presents to us a combination that is unique in Indian religion." [18]

Very occasionally an Indian thinker may be found to take a critical attitude to the Gita. Thus the nationalist leader Har Dyal calls it "rather fantastic, illogical, unhistorical and chaotic," and confesses that he finds "no solace or spiritual nutriment" in it.[19] This is also the opinion of some Western scholars, who, while they recognize that "millions have found in it . . . a gospel," yet hold, with Dr. L. D.

Barnett, that it is defective alike in style, thought and "the learning which it parades." [20]

It has certainly been the inspiration of scholars and thinkers like Sankara and Ramanuja, of devotees like Tukaram, of social reformers like Mahatma Gandhi, and also it must be confessed of brigands like Shivaji, who justified his wildest deeds by its doctrine of detachment; and many a young anarchist in modern India has carried the Gita in one pocket and a pistol in the other. Hindus take the oath on it in law courts to-day; and its spiritual influence has nowhere been better expressed than by Gandhi, who is probably the greatest spiritual force of our time: "When doubts haunt me, when disappointments stare me in the face, and when I see not one ray of light on the horizon, I turn to the Bhagavad-gita, and find a verse to comfort me, and immediately begin to smile in the midst of overwhelming sorrow. My life has been full of external tragedies, and if they have not left any visible and indelible effect on me, I owe it to the teaching of the Bhagavad-gita." [21] The Gita is in a word, like the Fourth Gospel, a storehouse of comfortable words and of inspiring counsels: and, however critical may be our attitude toward it, the fact remains, as its latest translator has said, "that there is little in the world's literature which has aroused a livelier enthusiasm." [22] The immense circulation of the Sanskrit text, and of its translations into the vernaculars of India, and into many foreign tongues, is proof of its great popularity at home and abroad. It is not an easy book, being full of philosophical discourses, some of which are highly technical; yet it is beloved of the laity, who find in it a gospel, and of the scholars, who in India, at any rate, accept its reconciliation of the various schools of thought.

The Fourth Gospel has an even greater circulation both among scholars and laymen. It too has inspired great thinkers and saints and devotees in all ages; and it is worthier of intellectual and spiritual respect. The Christian Church as a whole agrees with the verdict of Luther, for

whom it is "the precious and only gospel, far to be preferred above the others." It is the experience of many missionaries that it is the most acceptable of the Christian Scriptures to thoughtful Asiatic minds, alike in India and the Far East. Such evidence was given at the Missionary Conference in Edingburgh in 1910. "The moral law of Christ in the Sermon on the Mount appeals more to the ordinary Indian mind; but to the Vedantist and to all inclined to mysticism St. John's Gospel appeals far more than any other part of Scripture; indeed they say they understand it better than we do." [23]

After an exposition of the Fourth Gospel, which he finds "much nearer the spirit of the Gita than any other of the Christian writings, Professor Tattvabhushan of Calcutta concludes, "The essence of Christian teaching is in harmony with the fundamental teachings of our own sacred books. . . . Christianity, in spite of the outlandish dress which so often hides its true character from us, has come to us, not as an alien, but as near kindred, always ready to help us, and as such deserves our hearty reception." [24]

This thoughtful writer, after a thorough and fearless exposition of the Krishna of the Puranas, and of the Epic as a whole, goes on to claim that "the precious teachings of the Gita . . . are the words of the divine Logos incarnate in all men, the manifestation of the Light that lighteneth every man." [25]

The Eastern world is not unready for such a philosophy; and it falls strangely upon missionary ears, or indeed upon those of Asia, when Dr. Lake tells us that the Logos doctrine is "uncongenial to the mind of our time." [26] Invited to tell a group of able and learned monks in Japan what I believed about God, I used the great categories of the Fourth Gospel: Love, Light, Life, Logos. "That is also our belief," said one of them, a Sankritist as well as a Sinologue, "but is it not Neo-Christianity?" No doubt it *was* at one time Neo-Christianity, but the Church immediately accepted it as a true interpretation. The Gita was Neo-Hinduism, yet it is now entirely orthodox, and the Lotus

might certainly be called Neo-Buddhism, for no book "gives a better impression of the character of the changes undergone by Buddhism . . . from its beginnings down to the earliest times of the Christian era." So says Professor de la Vallée Poussin, who also claims justly that no other book gives a more accurate idea of the literature of the Great Vehicle or Mahayana. Dr. Masaharu Anesaki, devout student of theology and of the history of religion, has gone so far as to call the Lotus the "Johannine Gospel of Buddhism," [27] and the Logos doctrine the "Buddhism in Christianity." [28] As a follower of the great Buddhist reformer and prophet Nichiren (whose whole-hearted devotion was given to the Lotus), and also of Tolstoi and St. Francis of Assisi, Dr. Anesaki's views are of special interest, and his praise of the Lotus comes from a mind acquainted with the world's greatest literature. "The Lotus," he says, "called forth the highest tribute from most Buddhists of all ages," who, as he shows, have accepted it quite uncritically as the utterance of Sakyamuni himself at the close of his own ministry, when his disciples were ready for the full truth. The Lotus has indeed been the foundation stone of Japanese Buddhism and of Japanese civilization from the days of Shotoku on, and its eight scrolls are found on every Buddhist altar in Japan. Like the Gita and the Fourth Gospel, it is accepted by all Mahayana sects as canonical. However they may differ as to details of interpretation, they agree that it is "the King of the Sutras." "To keep it in mind is to keep the Buddha's Body": to expound it is to be "the eye of the world." [29]

These three books, then, unorthodox at first, are to-day accepted as "the very cream of orthodoxy," [30] as the fine flower of the three religions. As to their date controversy is still acute, but it seems likely that in their present form they belong to the late first or early second century of the Christian era, a great flowering period of the human mind and heart.

The Gita is a section of the Mahabharata, which is recognized by all scholars as a composite work. It gradually

took form in ballads or lays collected and edited somewhere about the fifth century B.C. These dealt at first with the Kurus, but after the Greek invasion songs of the Pandus began to be added and incorporated, and among them appears the demigod Krishna. If we date these passages about 300 B.C., the elaboration of the Epic into its present form may be placed between 200 B.C. and 400 A.D. Rather late in this period Krishna emerges as a serious rival to the popular figures of Mahayana Buddhism. It is remarkable that great Buddhist Scriptures such as the Lotus and the Lalita-vistara, which mention Vishnu, do not refer to Krishna. If the Gita were well known when they were written, we might imagine that Krishna, as the most serious rival of the Buddha, would have been given a place in the comprehensive pantheon of these tolerant works. But the argument from silence must not be pressed.

The Gita itself suggests that it belongs to the period of the later redaction of the Epic. It is almost certainly aimed at stemming the progress of popular Buddhism in its semi-theistic forms, which began to be serious rivals to popular Hinduism about the time of Kanishka, the middle of the first century A.D. The Krishna of the Gita is not the demigod of the earlier Epic, but the avatar of its later phases, already identified with Vishnu, and even with Brahman. The very detailed account of him in his transfigured form in Book XI seems to reflect an advanced stage of inconography, which is evidence of a late period. Under the influence of Greek art, Hinduism and Buddhism alike were making many images of the gods; and this form of Vishnu, with its many arms and symbols, seems to belong to this epoch. But in the present stage of critical study the question cannot be decided.

The date of the Lotus is also uncertain; but it is clear that the verse portions, or Gathas, are in almost all cases older than the prose, and this early form of the book is quoted by Nagarjuna in the first century A.D. Manuscripts of it have been recovered in Turkestan, and are being very carefully edited by such scholars as Dr. Mironov. He tells

me that of Indian texts only those in Nepal are known to exist, and there are also three quotations in a second century anthology.[31] There are extant three early Chinese translations, and before them there had been three others which were lost by the eighth century. Of these two seem to have been of Central Asian origin, and it is almost certain that before the third century A.D. there were texts in Turkestan belonging to the second century. Turning to internal evidence, we may note that the Buddhology is of the early Mahayana type, and we know that the Amitabha books of a more developed stage reached China by the middle of the second century A.D. Such sections of the Lotus as the chapter upon Avalokitesvara were added at a later date.

To sum up, we may say that the Lotus as we have it is a composite work which began in an early poetical form in the beginning of the first century A.D., and was later elaborated in prose about the beginning of the second century; that if soon found its way to Turkestan, and was translated, by missionaries from Turkestan to China by the beginning of the third century. It was sufficiently important to be translated both by Dharmaraksa (286 A.D.) and by Kumarajiva (400 A.D.). But these are matters of elaborate textual criticism, and further light must be awaited from specialists.

The problem of the Fourth Gospel has been much more fully explored. Like the other books it embodies older material, but in its present form it may, after a century of criticism, be accepted as belonging to the end of the first or the beginning of the second century A.D. It differs from the two Indian books in being sufficiently close to the time of its Lord to embody the evidence of eyewitnesses, and though it is a work of art like them it is also much more truly a biography. Internal evidence reveals the fact that one of its aims is to meet certain tendencies of thought which appeared toward the end of the first century. In reply to the Docetist it insists that Jesus was human to the extent of suffering weariness and thirst, and to the Gnostic it offers a blending of *gnosis,* "intuitive

knowledge," with *pistis,* "faith." There is no reason that is known to me for rejecting the tradition that its author was one who belonged to apostolic circles, and no sufficient reason for refusing to accept the Beloved Disciple as his original authority.

It is of great significance that these three books should have taken shape among people so different as the Indians and the Jews at the same time. The sixth century B.C. has been accepted as an epoch when great thinkers were busy with the concept of a world-order making for righteousness. It is enough here to mention Sakyamuni with his Dharma, Laotsze with his Tao, Heraclitus with his Logos, and the Hebrew prophets with their Word of Jehovah. The first and second centuries A.D. are even more remarkable; for then the barriers were down, and a great mingling of religious concepts and ideals took place, alike in Greece, in Asia Minor, in India, and in the Far East. The figure of the historic Jesus was able to relate itself triumphantly to the Logos of Heraclitus as it had been developed by the Stoics and Philo; and Platonism began to make its own splendid contribution toward the universalizing of His teachings. The figure of Sakyamuni was able to relate itself to the old Indian concept of Dharma, and at the same time to the Chinese concept of Tao, which is itself best translated Logos. The figure of Krishna, less authentic and definite than these two, was yet popular and strong enough to compel a reconciliation first with the Isvara of the Sankhya-Yoga and with Vishnu, and then at this time with the Brahman of the Vedanta.

The three great religions, in a word, were putting forth immense claims to universality; and it is clear that the intellectual and emotional foundations of our three great Scriptures go back to the sixth century B.C., the Lotus directly to Sakyamuni; the Gita, less directly yet indubitably influenced by his person and teachings and by an earlier Kshatriya Vasudeva, also goes back to its present form to the monism of the Upanishads.

The Fourth Gospel, written in all probability at Ephesus,

breathes an atmosphere in which the thought of the Ephesian Heraclitus and the idealism of Plato were floating; and through Jesus, St. Paul, and the Christian Church in general it draws upon the prophetic writers of that great period in Israel when Judaism was being spiritualized and universalized.

It may never be proved that Christianity has influenced either the Gita or the Lotus, though there are some scholars who maintain it.[32] Their parallels are often forced, and in any case there is no clear evidence of anything more than similar religious development in parallel historic situations. Still less likely is it that India directly influenced early Christianity. As Pischel says, "At the gates of the New Testament Buddhism hardly knocks"; and with Schweitzer we may believe that "it is unproved, unbelievable and unthinkable that Jesus derived the suggestion of the new and creative ideas which emerge in His teaching from Buddhism." [33]

Yet it is certain that India, by way of Persia, influenced Greek and Hebrew thought long before the Christian era; and in this way there is every likelihood of some Oriental influence upon the Fourth Gospel. Many scholars hold, for example, that the doctrine of transmigration, appearing suddenly in sixth-century Greece, must have come from India; [34] and the emphasis of the Greek thinkers of that period upon the transiency and flux of things may well be Indian in origin. Through the Persian Captivity again Hebrew thought was colored by Persian ideas. Yet interchange in this region is not so easy to prove as interchange of commercial goods or of political institutions. But where these are proven it is likely that there went with them synthesis and exchange of thought. Where, as we shall see, the great barbarian conqueror of the Northwest, Kanishka, is called "Caesar," we have graphic proof of the communication of political concepts,[35] and if we can actually watch in the sculptures of this very region the Hellenization of Buddhist art and see the great Indian sage becoming a young Apollo, the conclusion is inevitable that in the

give and take of those cosmopolitan days there was interchange of philosophical and religious concepts. Synthesis and cosmopolitanism always go together. Such discoveries as those of the Stein and Pelliot expeditions make it clear that at any rate within three or four centuries there were vast accumulations of books representing the various religions, and such accumulations argue real intellectual activity which did not spring up suddenly, but was of long growth. And the publication of systems of comparative study of religion like that of Tsung Mih in sixth-century China and of Kukai in ninth-centry Japan indicates that it was widespread.

In any case, the less conscious process of religious synthesis is constantly at work. Christianity is itself a living proof of this, and it is its glory that it has made so living an appeal to men of such different ideals as those of Mithraism and the mystery religions, of Platonism and of Apocalypticism and other forms of Hebraism. That it has absorbed and mastered such diverse elements is proof of its vitality. While, as we shall see, Brahmanism and Buddhism have also absorbed many foreign elements, these have seldom been assimilated, and the test we shall have to apply is a simple one: "Has the central Figure been powerful enough to subordinate these concepts, or have they mastered him?" The Gita is the "Song of the Blessed One," a personal deity Krishna, but it is a Blessed One who has been mastered by the all-absorbing Brahman, an impersonal Absolute. And the Sakyamuni of the Lotus is an Ideal rather than a Person. But no one can say that the Logos of Philo has mastered the historic Jesus as we find Him in the Fourth Gospel. It may not succeed, it could not succeed, in blending the Logos concept with the religious experience of a personal Lord; but it much more nearly succeeds in doing this than does the Gita in subordinating the pantheistic Brahman to its theistic worship of Krishna, or the Lotus in convincing the world that its Sakyamuni is anything but an apocalyptic vision.

"In Christianity philosophy and the pagan mysteries are

in a measure," says Loisy, "absorbed and utilized by the Gospel. In gnosticism it is rather the Gospel which is absorbed by philosophy and the pagan mysteries."[36] This contrast may be made even more forcibly if we apply it, *mutatis mutandis,* to the Fourth Gospel on the one hand, and the Gita and Lotus on the other. And the Gospel is to-day showing the same superior vitality over against these other "pagan mysteries" and this other ancient gnosticism.

The title of a well-known missionary book is *India's Problem, Krishna or Christ.* It is a just title. India has to choose which Lord she will follow, and however sympathetic the missionary is in his approach he must to this extent be intolerant. The three Beloved Ones of our books are in a real sense rivals. Even if later Buddhism is almost a form of Vaishnavism, it does not acknowledge it. The Lotus claims for its Lord such proud titles as Lokupitar, "Father of the World," and Svyambhu, "Self-existent," which the Gita uses of Krishna; and as against the claims of Siva the Lotus calls its Lord Mahesvara, Great God. In a word one cannot be at once a Buddhist and a Hindu; though many modern Hindus secretly exalt Sakyamuni above Krishna and still more place Christ above both, they are in a position which it is difficult to justify. One cannot be at once a Krishnian and a Christian. I have met Hindus who say they can worship equally contentedly in a Christian church and in the Temple of Kali, which runs with blood and contains the hideous figure of the aboriginal Earth Goddess of South India trampling upon her prostrate lord. I do not doubt the sincerity of this statement; it is their heads not their hearts which I would criticize. And neither Christ nor Krishna would be satisfied with this vague tolerance. As for Sakyamuni, although he did not claim men's allegiance in the same way, he too was a son of fact, and called men to judge clearly and to decide for themselves where truth lay.

The three books as expressions of vital religion are also expressions of a religious experience definite enough and

real enough to support exclusive claims; they are at once the most loving and the most intolerant of books. For each sets up a loving Lord, and love demands whole-hearted response. That they are all inspired works we may believe; the comparative study of religion is surely vindicating the Johannine doctrine of the Logos as the enlightening Word, which is in all men. The very similarity of religious needs and experience, and of the thinking out of such experience by great independent thinkers as we find it in these books, is at once evidence of the essential unity of mankind, and of God's gracious dealings with man everywhere. "The fine thing about the Logos doctrine," said a lay theologian recently, "is that it is true"; and whether this doctrine has a common origin in some one human mind, or from the Divine Mind has passed to independent thinkers in Asia Minor, Greece, India, and China, it is none the less a profound and impressive conception, and seems the only natural basis for a science of religion which seeks to do justice to all the facts.

Seen thus, the Gita and the Lotus need not be considered as rivals of the Fourth Gospel, but as forerunners leading men to it as the supreme and satisfying statement of an ideal toward which they have striven with heroic faith and brilliant vision. It is a work which tells their devotees, as it told the cultured world of Greece, "God *is* what you are sure He ought to be; He is gracious as Krishna, compassionate as Sakyamuni. He has broken the bonds of Karma and Samsara which you resent, yet are forced to accept. Your Scriptures are a cry for life, and here is Life indeed. They are a demand that men be free as sons in a universe ruled by a Father, and here is the Truth, the Unique Son and express image of the Father."

These books in fact throw new light upon the essential truth of the Fourth Gospel. They are all expressions of religion speaking in universal terms, and after profound reflection upon authentic experience. It is not partisan criticism of the Lotus and Gita to say that the Evangelist has thought to better purpose, that his Gospel has a note

of reality not sounded in them, because his experience of saving truth was more profound. To say the same thing in other words, his Lord was indeed the Way, the Truth, and the Life. Devotees of Krishna are already willing to accept Him as an Avatar, while the followers of Sakyamuni agree that He is another Nirmanakaya, or embodiment of Eternal Truth. But it is not enough. Jesus won the Greek and Roman world by refusing a place in their pantheon; and He wins the Orient to-day by a loving intolerance.

So much devout thought has gone into the making of these books, and so vital a religious experience is here seeking expression, that we may say that they challenge all thinkers, Eastern and Western, to go on and think further. Can the Sakyamuni of the Lotus, universalized as he is and freed from local trammels, can he bear final comparison with the Christ of the Fourth Gospel? Can Krishna, immense as are the claims which the Gita makes for him, stand permanently as a rival Lord? These are questions of vital import, and with them in our minds we may pass to the more detailed study of the three great books which are at once works of mature thought, of consummate art, and of rapt devotion. They are all theological treatises, showing us theology at its best, aglow with light and color. Where, how, and why were they written? Before we can answer these questions, we must seek to understand the historic Founders whom they seek to universalize.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORIC FOUNDERS

God manifest in the flesh is a more profound philosophic truth than the loftiest flight of speculation.
—A. S. Pringle-Pattison.

Religion demands that the truth of Divine Immanence dear to the philosophic mind be balanced by the truth of Divine Transcendence, which is vital to the devotee. The ethical thinker will join hands with the devotee in protesting against pure pantheism or pure monism, for these cut the nerve of human responsibility. The true mystic, again, while he owns kinship with the monist, will cling also to belief in Divine Transcendence, for he confesses that "by love He may be gotten, by thought of understanding never"; and love demands an object. The philosopher may come to realize the great truth which stands at the head of this chapter; yet many philosophic minds boggle at the idea of Divine Incarnation.

i

In the sixth century before Christ, all these types were to be found in India. Against the essential monism of the Upanishads, a "secret doctrine" of God and the world, there arose not only Sakyamuni, the ethical reformer, to protest that man and his moral life are the great realities, but also a growing multitude of Bhagavatas or devotees, who insisted that God is not a cold abstraction, but a gracious Person. This movement, headed by theistic teachers of the Kshatriyas like Janaka and Vasudeva, went on side by side with Buddhism and Jainism, and succeeded like them partly because of its origin among warriors and

kings, who arrayed themselves against the proud claims of the Brahmins. Within the ranks of these priestly leaders the movement also claimed its followers; and by the second century B.C. it had penetrated the strongholds both of Brahmanism and Buddhism. Both now begin to make terms with it, and the two Indian books we are to study are the fine fruit of this alliance which popular and democratic religion made with the aristocratic Brahmin and the monastic Buddhist. It may be that these too began to realize what is undoubtedly true, that it is better philosophy to accept a God-man than to be content with the speculative concept of an Absolute without attributes. "God manifest in the flesh," says Pringle-Pattison, "is a more profound philosophical truth than the loftiest flight of speculation, that outsoars all predicates, and for the greater glory of God declares Him unknowable." [1]

Hebrew thought during this period was busying itself with the same great problem of immanence and transcendence, of monism and theism. It sought to reconcile the Semitic doctrine of God's transcendence with the Hellenic or Brahmanic doctrine of His immanence; it had as yet no God-man to bridge the gulf. The Kabbala, of which the roots go back to Philo and others of this time, is in fact an Upanishadic Hebraism, a mystery or "secret doctrine" of God and His relation to the world which is a reaction from the one-sided emphasis of Israel upon the remoteness of God, his utter transcendence of the world. God for the Kabbala is Pure Being, the Absolute, the Unconditioned, the Self-determined. Immanent in the world, He is describable only in negatives. These Hebrew thinkers would agree, as would those of the Upanishads, with Plato's dictum, "The Maker of this universe is hard to find; nor if He were found could He be declared to all men." [2]

How did this hidden Being declare himself? Indian, Greek, and Hebrew thinkers, all conceive of a Divine Word or Words by which the Self-existent uttered itself and was made manifest:

"The Eternal Word (Vac) was spoken by the Self-existent," says the Mahabharata.[3]

"I came forth from the mouth of the Most High," says Wisdom, in Ecclesiasticus;[4] and of the Logos Philo declares, "On the tablet of the world, else empty, Thou hast written Thine Eternal Thought. Of that Thy Divine poem the first word is Reason, the last is man. Whoso readeth it shall find from first to last Thy favors, the divers names of Thy Love."

This great concept of the Word finds noble expression in the hymn of Cleanthes the Stoic:

> The Word Universal that pulses through all things,
> Commingling its life with the lights great and lesser,
> From Thee takes its birth, O Thou Sovereign most high!
> Lo, without Thee in the earth and the waters,
> And in heights empyrean is nothing accomplished,
> Save folly of fools, blind rebellion of sinners.
> All things together Thou fittest and guidest,
> That One over all may be Reason, Eternal.

This poem was written about two hundred and fifty years before Christ, while the Buddhist Sangha was busy with the idea of the Dharma as causal nexus of the universe, and the Brahman was being conceived as uttering itself in an Eternal Word. A great and vital step was soon to be taken, alike on the pantheistic soil of India and on the monotheistic soil of Syria, by which a historic figure was to be claimed as this utterance of the Supreme, the Divine Word incarnate.

It is strange that from the historic Vasudeva to the "Adorable Lord" of the Gita there is an interval of at least four centuries, and from the Sakyamuni of history to the Sakyamuni of the Lotus there is an interval of at least five, and this on the pantheistic soil of India where such steps are easily taken; while within a generation of the death of Jesus upon the cross of a felon we find the Hebrew mind of St. Paul, to which such a transition was indeed unthinkable, bridging the gulf between the Jesus of history and the Most High, and within a century the

Ephesian John, himself a Jew, identifying Jesus with the Eternal Logos.

In order to understand the remarkable process at work in this first century of the Christian era alike in India and in Asia Minor, the first step is to study what was the actual historical material upon which these master minds were at work.

It is a task of great difficulty, and in the case of Krishna there is little but a mass of legends, from which it is impossible to sift out material for a consistent picture. We may, however, accept the view [5] that he was the historic Founder of a theistic movement which has done much for India. His family name was Vasudeva, and his mother's name Devaki. He appears first in one of the oldest Upanishads, the Chchandogya, as an earnest student of Ghora Angirasa, a priest of the Sun. Like Ikhnaton, of Egypt, many centuries before him, Krishna seems to have developed his theistic reform about a nucleus of this most ancient of cults.

For the rest we have the evidence of Jain and Buddhist, as well as of Hindu books,[6] that he was a scion of the royal house of Mathura. In the Mahabharata he appears as the brave if at times unscrupulous adviser of the Pandus, and we see him gradually exalted from hero to demigod, and from demigod to God of Gods. In the Besnagar column of the second century B.C., set up on one of the main roads of India, important evidence has been preserved that his influence extended among the Greeks of the northwest; he is here called "God of Gods" and Bhagavan, "Adorable Lord," and it seems clear from the *Indica* of Megasthenes that the Greeks, seeing his cult at "Methora," identified him with Herakles. Gradually a Krishna cycle of legends was evolved. His name, Vasudeva, was interpreted to mean "he who envelopes all with his magic power," and he was identified with Vishnu. An attractive birth saga became popular, the elements of it derived, according to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, from the nomad tribe of the Abhiras, who "in the course of their wanderings eastward from Syria or Asia Minor brought with them,

probably, traditions of the birth of Christ in a stable, the massacre of the innocents . . . and the name of Christ itself. The name became recognized as Krishna, as this word is often pronounced by some Indians as Krista. . . . And thus the traditional legend brought by the Abhiras became engrafted on the story of Vasudeva Krishna of India." [7]

These birth stories, and it must be confessed still more, the amours of this versatile god, have endeared him to the heart of India. They are illustrated, sometimes in great detail, even in editions of the Gita, and are sung and enacted throughout India. But they belong to a later stage and only concern us here as indicating the insufficiency of so philosophic a god as the hero of the Gita. He, too, is far removed from his historic prototype; yet we may believe that those passages which set him forth as a theistic teacher are based upon fact.

Vasudeva Krishna, an attractive warrior prince living before the time of Sakyamuni, succeeded like him in starting a movement among his own Kshatriyas which gradually spread even among Brahmins. Its lay origin, its ethical content, its promise of salvation, above all the personality of its founder, ensured its success; and as in the case of the Buddha the teacher came to occupy the throne from which he had thrust the gods of his people. In each case the Guru, so human and so attractive, became Bhagavan, the Beloved; and Krishna was perhaps himself the author of this attractive title. Its germ seems to be in the Rig Veda, where Bhaga is a god whose name came to be a synonym for goodness. Bhagavan, "he who is good," came to mean "the Beloved One," and to be transferred to Krishna himself; and as the Bhagavan of Krishna held out the promise of Heaven to his devotees, so this promise was transferred to the Teacher as he became the center of the cult.

It was an era of new gods; and the Bhagavatas, or devotees, were men and women who, dissatisfied alike with the stately but cold intellectualism of the Upanishads, and with the agnosticism of such reformers as Sakyamuni, were

forming local cults, in which bhakti, or loving faith, began to take the place of jñana, or intuitive knowledge, as the way of salvation. Even in the Upanishads great stress is laid upon upasana, "worship," and upon sraddha, "faith," and the Unseen is described as "dearer than all things." [8]

To account for the rise of groups of Bhagavatas we need not argue that it is easy for a new religion to spring up on Indian soil. That is true; it is not difficult anywhere in times of transition, and India in particular has seen the deification of many of her sons. Yet this is not the whole truth. She had to be content for centuries either with the lofty speculations and the difficult worship of the Upanishads, or with the confused polytheism of the Vedas. She needed a personal Lord; her heart, like that of humanity at large, was restless until it found rest in such a Friend. The stages by which the new cult established itself in the very citadel of Brahmanism prove that harder thinking went to its formulation than is usually the case. Moreover, the successes of Buddhism and Jainism were important factors in its rise. In the first place, they indicated how unpopular Brahmin claims were becoming; their founders were Kshatriyas or warriors, who successfully opposed alike the metaphysical and the social aristocracy of Brahmanism; many were glad, kings and rich merchants among them, to follow the reformers.

What we call Hinduism soon resulted, a popular movement within Brahmanism, an attempt to meet these new rivals with their own weapons. If Sakyamuni were a warrior deified and in revolt, a Hindu warrior-god should be set up to meet him. This process—subconscious, no doubt, on the part of the masses—may well have been consciously approved and abetted by the astute Brahmin. He has often since deliberately "married" aboriginal goddesses to gods of the orthodox pantheon, and is ever ready to accommodate Brahmanism to new needs. This is the secret at once of its strength and of its corruption. To identify the attractive Krishna with Vishnu, a sun god of the Rig Veda, was a simple and natural process. A similar

evolution is going on before our eyes in modern India. Another layman of lower caste than Vasudeva, an ethical theist tolerant of all religions but intolerant of abuses like the claims of arrogant Brahmins and the cruel sufferings of the Panchamas, is being at the same moment criticized and abused by the religious teachers of India and worshiped as a god by the masses. The orthodox, who now condemn his religion as heretical and often oppose his doctrine of Ahimsa, non-violence, as un-Aryan, and his Christian sentiments as a menace to Brahmanism, these will, if it suits them, take all this back and accept the view of Young India that he is another Bhagavan. Of the masses it is true already to say that they regard him as another avatar of Vishnu, who has miraculous powers, such that even Brahmins are powerless before him. These simple people are ready to die for him, and there are already Brahmins also, who share their view of this great man. "Can my soul," one priest is quoted as saying, after he had suffered in prison for his loyalty, "can my soul ever be weaned from Mahatmaji?" [9] Great is the power of loving and sincere personality, and if this deification can go on before our eyes, it is surely easy to imagine it happening two thousand years ago, when the fierce light of publicity was unknown.

For a portrait of Vasudeva, then, we have no real material; and we must content ourselves with saying that he seems to have been one of the attractive laymen familiar to us in the Mahabharata, and that he must have been loving enough to call out an eager response from hungry hearts, and genius enough to see that India needed above all else a personal God. "For ordinary people an adorable object with a more distinct personality than that which the theistic portions of the Upanishads attributed to God was necessary, and the philosophic speculations did not answer practical needs." [10] Great as was his service to India, we cannot claim to know the historic Vasudeva. Among the masses even the Krishna of the Gita is forgotten in favor of the lascivious Krishna of the Puranas.

ii

On what different ground we are when we turn to the historic Jesus. "Jesus," as Weinel says, "we know full well." In the Synoptic Gospels we have ample material for a consistent portrait of Him. And in a lesser sense this is true of the historic Sakyamuni. In the Suttas or Dialogues of the Pali Canon, there are so many lifelike incidents, and so many characteristic utterances, that the trained mind may without great difficulty arrive at a fairly convincing portrait.

The myth theories of both these great figures we may dismiss; and all views which make them less than great and creative leaders seem to be negligible. Christianity is the gift of Jesus to the world, Buddhism that of Sakyamuni. In what their originality consisted is, however, not a simple problem.

Even in the case of Jesus the earliest accounts were written by men who had to recall His words and deeds in the light of their own subsequent experience, and of their own mental equipment and environment. The quest of the historic Jesus has, therefore, proved a task of immense difficulty to critics, though the lay mind may well wonder if the professional is not at times tilting at windmills of his own imagining. The quest of the historic Sakyamuni has been much less eagerly and scientifically pursued, and it remains partly for this reason still more baffling. Yet let us not exaggerate. We may claim to know more of both these great figures than any generation since their own; and, indeed, if we are to aim at consistent portraits, we must insist upon knowning even more than their contemporaries.[3] For we have nineteen centuries or more of accumulated experience and devout thought to draw upon, and we can also take a more detached attitude and a more critical view than their immediate disciples. The Synoptists were men imbued with an apocalypticism which we may, or rather must, reject. Even so it is not very prominent in their accounts, and in St. Luke's little

of it remains. The flight of time has revealed it as an illusion; and it has no less clearly proved that Jesus was between a view of God as infinite patience and love, and a a mighty and consistent thinker who did not alternate contrary view of Him as an Oriental despot about to destroy a world He could not recreate. Jesus was not at once serene optimist and despairing pessimist; sweet reasonableness and fanaticism do not blend in one person.

A portrait such as that given us by the authors of *The Lord of Thought,*[11] stripped of this strange element, is surely more consistent than the portrait of the Synoptists themselves and of others, who like them, seek to include this element with the rest of His teaching. It is surely far truer than Schweitzer's portrait of Him as an apocalyptic teacher and little more.[12] "I believe," said the Rev. C. W. Emmet, at a recent conference, "that we shall come to see that it is precisely those contemporary ideas of the wrath of God and His ultimate avenging activity as destroying judge, which are the unauthentic elements in the teaching ascribed to Jesus."

What do the Synoptists tell us of Him? Though there are several strata of Christology in their accounts, and though Luke is on the way to being Johannine, they are all agreed in depicting a great and majestic figure who combined in a marvelous harmony qualities seldom found together—complexity and great simplicity, rugged strength and charming tenderness, deep humility and a serene sense of His own unique relation to God. They show us a devoted lover of God and men, "who radiated the health of God," to whom God was the Supreme Reality, and who realized that He knew God as no one else had done.[13] How so insipid a figure as that sketched in *The Beginnings of Christianity* could have started so great a movement is hard to see. To say, as its authors do, that "The God of Jesus . . . is identical with the God of the Jews," and that "there is no sign that Christianity ever claimed to be a new message as to the nature of God" [14] is surely a misstatement of an important truth. "All that Jesus taught

is in the Talmud," says the modern Jew. "And how much else!" adds Wellhausen. Saul the Hebrew learned through a revolutionary experience to call God Abba, "Father," and to lay aside the more awful names familiar to him from his youth up; he learned, by a no less drastic experience, to accept Samaritans and Gentiles as brothers. Not only was Jesus original in his clarification of the doctrine of God and in His widening of the concept of neighbor; His whole life was radiant with the consciousness of God's presence, and with human affection for all. His God is more universal and less remote than Jahweh; His brethren are all who do God's will. When the lawyer asked him, "Who is my neighbor?" he got a reply which no rabbi would have given. When the Jews heard Zaccheus called a son of Abraham, they were outraged. More than this, the masses began at once to contrast Him with the scribes and Pharisees because He taught as one having authority, and as a unique Son, revealing a Father whom He knew by personal communion, and who was free to revise the traditions of His people. "Never man spake as this man," was a judgment of His contemporaries; for He not only spoke with authority, but with infinite charm. He was in fact a great artist in words, and at the same time so great a thinker that the world is continually rediscovering Him. Again, of whom else can we say that he stated no principles which he failed to put into practice, but could challenge his critics with the sublime words, "Which of you convicteth me of sin?" It requires genius of a very high order to use old terms so that they glow and sparkle with new light and life, and to combine them into a consistent system. To embody them in a life of such crystalline purity requires more than genius.

If Jesus was just an orthodox Jew, teaching truths about God which all His people knew, it is not easy to account either for the enthusiasm of the crowd or for the fury of the priests. Others had known about God. Jesus knew Him with radiant certainty of His unfailing love; and though we cannot say that Father [15] is His favorite name

in the Synoptic accounts, yet in the Fourth Gospel He uses no other; and the general impression of His attitude and teaching is best summed up in the Johannine phrase, "God is Love."

Here then was His mission, the good news which He spent Himself to share with all alike, and here is the central drama of the Synoptic story. He tries to put into men's hands the key of faith in a loving God; and they, unable to accept it, seek to force into His hands the scepter of dominion. His enthusiasm and magnetism, and we must add His gifts of healing (to omit which is to cut the story to pieces), were such that He was importuned to become a national leader, to declare Himself Davidic king, and to lead them against Rome. Imbued with a different sense of His mission, which seems to have crystallized in the great moment of His baptism by John, He was yet strongly tempted by this other interpretation. The world needed a Messianic king! And the Kingdom of God, His noble social ideal, needed embodiment. Granted that the idea of the Suffering Servant was the more divine, might it not be blent with that other Maccabean ideal of a human vicegerent, setting up God's kingdom of righteousness? But He puts this away as a satanic temptation, and begins His public ministry by preaching from a great Messianic passage in Isaiah; and this He deliberately edits, omitting the words "the day of vengeance of our God," and emphasizing "the acceptable year of the Lord." [16] In this passage Jesus Himself gives us the key to His thought about God's Kingdom. He sublimates the whole concept, and makes it one of moral values, of mighty works culminating in the most sublime of all, the preaching of the good news of a loving Father to the poor and simple.[17] This clearly is His central thought throughout, and Messianic claims, where we are sure that they are His own, must be read in this context. While it is still debated whether Jesus used the title Son of Man,[18] it seems clear that the Synoptists could hardly use the phrase so often [19] unless it were characteristic of Him; and the Fourth Gospel, which

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is largely freed of Jewish apocalypticism, and almost entirely of the note of God's severity, uses it twelve times.

The real question of course is not, Did He use the title? but, In what sense did He use it? It should be noticed first that the Synoptists agree that He was very careful to instruct the disciples privately as to His Messiahship, that indeed with wonderful skill and patience He allowed them to discover it for themselves, and that it was not until after the confession at Caesarea Philippi (presumably because now His task of teaching them was accomplished) that He began to make this claim public.

Secondly it is clear that this phrase, "Son of Man," is not necessarily a Messianic title. In the Old Testament it often means simply "man." A familiar passage of the Psalms is typical of this usage: "What is man that Thou art mindful of him, and the son of man that Thou visitest him?" [20] In the Synoptic Gospels there are passages in which the title is best so understood. As has often been noted, the passage in Mark ii. 28 (and parallels) is one of these. Here Jesus, in vindicating the action of His disciples in the cornfield on the Sabbath, says: "The Sabbath is made for man; and the Son of Man is Lord also of the Sabbath." This second phrase is much more pointed and more relevant if it means "man is lord also of the Sabbath." There are other passages, again, in which, though Jesus uses the title of Himself, He uses it to identify Himself with humanity.

In some there is a distinct apocalyptic reference; but these usually deal with His Passion and Resurrection, and are in fact the very passages most clearly colored by later experience of the Church. Typical of these are Mark x. 32-34 and its parallels. Is it credible that Jesus foretold all the details of His betrayal, His trial by Jews and Gentiles, His resurrection on the third day? These are clearly details unconsciously added by the writers as they recall the solemn warning that He went up to Jerusalem to die; and the title "Son of Man" would also be a natural addi-

tion, for their own hopes centered in His apocalyptic return, as is evident in the earlier epistles of St. Paul.

There remain still other passages in which the title *is* clearly Messianic, and in which the claim must be attributed to Jesus Himself. But there is not a little evidence to show that He used the title in a spiritual sense, and refuted nationalist interpretations. Thus in Mark xii. 35-37 and parallels, He asks, "Why do the Scribes say that the Messiah is David's Son? For David himself was inspired to say, 'The Lord said to my Lord, sit thou at my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool.' David then calls Messiah Lord, and how can he be his own son?"

All this suggests very forcibly that this great Teacher was trying to make His hearers think out for themselves whether all the materialistic trappings of their Messianic expectation, and especially its truculent nationalism, were not idle and evil dreams. We are told that great multitudes heard Him gladly. This was partly because He refuted some of their own religious leaders, whom they distrusted; and partly, perhaps, because they did not want a war to the death with Rome.

There are still other passages which suggest that the Synoptists themselves added their own comment. Thus in Luke xviii. 8 the parable of the Unjust Judge is followed by the inappropriate remark, "Nevertheless, when the Son of Man cometh, shall He find faith on earth?" It is very unlikely that Jesus said this; it is surely a reflection from a later period of uncertainty and persecution. There is an instructive parallel in the Pali Canon, where Sakyamuni is made to prophesy the dwindling of faith until it shall be restored by the next Buddha.[21] Both passages are, in fact, due to later pessimism, to which the Founders were strangers.

Another instance is that of Matthew xvi. 13, "Who do men say that the Son of Man is?" This is better reported by St. Mark and St. Luke as, "Who do men say that I am?" Is it likely that Jesus asked a question which answers itself? These instances are perhaps enough to suggest that

it is more reasonable to maintain that Jesus, while He did use Messianic titles, used them with great caution, as though conscious that He was pouring new wine into old bottles; and that the apocalyptic elements are not due to Him but to the disciples.

To go further into this complex question is beyond the scope of this book. It had, however, to be faced, because the Fourth Gospel is almost free from apocalypticism,[22] and writers who believe that this was the essence of Jesus' teaching naturally maintain that it is unhistoric, and attribute it to the imagination of converts from the mystery religions. The Fourth Gospel is in some ways nearer to the historic facts than are the Synoptics,[23] and notably is it so in freeing Jesus from this incubus—an incubus which, alas, is still with us. This is the judgment of a scholar whose work on the Fourth Gospel has been a great inspiration to the Church of our time:

> The real message of Jesus is independent of the apocalyptic ideas, and can easily be detached from them. His demand was for a new kind of life, a new relation to God, and while He looked for the kingdom His interest was in those moral requirements which it involved. Indeed it may fairly be argued that although Jesus fell in with the apocalyptic outlook His thought was in inward contradiction to it, and that not a few of the difficulties which have been brought to light by the modern enquiry are due to this cause. The two outstanding features of the apocalyptic thought are that the Kingdom lies in the future, and that it will come suddenly by the immediate act of God. However much they differ in their conceptions the apocalyptists all share these two primary beliefs; and they could not do otherwise, in view of the very nature of apocalyptic. It was the outgrowth of a profound pessimism. For the time being God seemed to have withdrawn from the government of the world. Doubtless he was still King, but with the evil present He could do nothing, and His people must be content to wait patiently for the coming day when He would assert His sovereignty. It followed that when His Kingdom *did* come it would appear suddenly and miraculously. In the world now running to decay there were no regenerating forces which by their own action would gradually bring about the better time. God must Himself interpose, by an immediate act of power.
>
> Now these fundamental beliefs of apocalyptic were both foreign to the mind of Jesus. Not only so, but they were directly opposed

to the convictions He lived by, and which underlie all His teaching. He believed that God rules the world, and that everything is ordered by Him, so that not a sparrow falls to the ground without His knowledge. In this absolute trust that God is sovereign he submitted himself unreservedly to the will of God, and called on His followers to do likewise. To be sure He says much about the coming Kingdom, yet what he demands is not the apocalyptic faith that in some future time all wrongs will be righted, but the faith that God is reigning now, in spite of all the mystery in which His ways are enshrouded. This is the very heart of the religion of Jesus. If we conceive of Him as merely the herald of a future Kingdom we take the keystone out of His teaching and out of the whole story of His life. In like manner, He is in conflict with the apocalyptic view that no forces for good are working in the present, and that if the Kingdom comes it must break in by a miraculous act. He sees the goodness of God in the rain and the sunshine, in the natural kindness of men to one another, in the impulses that are continually leading them to better things. He makes His appeal, ever and again, to the goodness that is present in men, and tries to foster and direct it, so that it may help on the divine purposes. Not only does He recognize that forces for good are operative, but He believes that in the last resort there are no other forces. Evil by its nature is unreal and self-destructive. Only the good has power, and those who follow it may be confident that sooner or later it will overcome, and fulfill itself. With such a belief as this He did not need to expect the apocalyptic miracle. To stake everything upon it would indeed have been little short of treason to His own deepest convictions. Men had come to look for it because their faith had failed, because they had ceased to discern the moral forces or had despaired of their effecting anything. The whole aim of Jesus was to restore that faith which apocalyptic, with its doctrine of a Kingdom which could only come by miracle, had implicitly denied.[24]

Those who seek in our day to glorify Jesus by a return to an apocalypticism which the Church soon abandoned are misguided indeed. It is a temptation which easily besets men in troublous times; but it is temptation to be resolutely resisted, as Jesus himself resisted it.

Having made up His mind to die at Jerusalem He set His face to go thither, knowing, apparently from bitter experience in that city (though of this the Synoptists tell us nothing), that the opposition to Him there was so strong that it could have only one end. A great danger is a great opportunity. He will seize it and master it as the one way

alike of illustrating His great principle of pacifism,[25] and of dramatizing the suffering love of God. Riding into Jerusalem on an ass, He made a claim which no Jew would fail to recognize, yet which all would certainly misunderstand; and from this point on used words which were inevitably misunderstood as Messianic claims. From now on, indeed, He was concerned to make clear His claim to be Christ. His only defense, alike before the suspicious imperialism of Pilate and the hypocritical orthodoxy of the Pharisees, was that He was a king, whose kingdom (as He says in the Fourth Gospel) is not of this world, and that He was the Son of God in a unique sense. The dramatic power of the Synoptic account is largely due to this tragic irony; we feel that all His claims are true, that all are made in a deep spiritual sense, and that, despite His high resolve to adhere to this interpretation and to make no compromise with lower ones, He is inevitably misunderstood by those whose minds are busy thinking other thoughts, and whose ambitions are on another plane. We can see the shadow of the Cross upon Him long before the end, and can understand His special tenderness to children, to the simple, and to the afflicted. These had no desire to misunderstand or to use Him for political ends. His disciples He seems to have chosen from the more simple-minded and less political of the people, and the narratives are remorselessly honest in showing that they had the defects of these virtues, and were slow of heart and understanding. We can watch the Maccabean ideal continually effacing that of the Suffering Servant in their minds, in spite of the Master's constant effort to reverse this process, and to instill a new spirit into their inherited concepts. In vain does He call them to *metanoia*—a change of mind, a new scale of values, as well as a new moral life.

If then we desire a consistent portrait of the historic Jesus, we shall have to get rid of the apocalyptic element almost completely. The Synoptists show that Jesus did use the title "Son of Man," and acquiesced in the title "Son of God"; and these terms inevitably carried with them asso-

ciations of a nationalist character. Thus when Jesus acknowledges the homage at Caesarea Philippi, "Thou art the Christ (the Son of the Living God)," He might seem to be agreeing to become a nationalist Leader—but immediately He begins to tell them of the sufferings that await Him.[26] The title "Son of God" is used in the Psalms to describe the Davidic king, and many Jews would so understand it. But it is also used in Wisdom Literature to describe the righteous man, "especially the righteous man who suffered."[27] It is clear that Jesus often used it in this sense; but He also seems to have had another and more distinctive meaning for it. He used it in fact as a claim to a real kinship with God, which all men in some degree possess, but of which He was uniquely conscious. It is this which gave Him power to forgive sins, and to speak of God as Father with simple directness, and with none of the false reverence of His contemporaries. That the Jews understood it to mean more than Messiah is clear in St. Luke's account of the trial. It is this title, "Son of God," not "Christ," which most enrages them.[22]

That Jesus could accept both titles, "Son of Man" and "Son of God," almost interchangeably is proof that He recognized man's affinity to God, not that He accepted current apocalypticism. Here is the basis for a sound Christology. It is not convincing to seek to combine two natures in Christ, and the old intense controversies on this question leave us cold. We think of Christ as perfect in His humanity, and therefore perfectly divine. The first disciples were not ready for this conception, partly because their apocalyptic beliefs stood in the way. These beliefs no doubt helped them during the bitter disappointment of the last days of His ministry and after His death. This beloved and innocent Sufferer would be vindicated, and their loyalty would be rewarded when He became King. This view they very slowly relinquished; and they could no more record His words without reading back into them their own expectations than they could avoid embodying in them elements of a later Christology. It may seem fanciful to

reject the one and to retain the other. But this is what the Church did, and it is a proof of her splendid sanity. In this Christology the writers had kept close to experience; in their apocalypticism they had failed to do so. The Church, in fact, took as its foundation the Johannine teaching, which rejects the older Judaistic view and accepts some of the phraseology and even some of the theology of the pagan mysteries. The Fourth Gospel, using the language of the mystery religions and setting forth the doctrine of a Church and sacraments, has seemed to the Church as a whole a more perfect foundation than the Synoptic Gospels; it had the splendid help of the mind of St. Paul to make it so, and its author is himself a great thinker.

But these are critical questions which demand much more space than can be given them here. What we seek is a clear picture of the Jesus of history, in order that we may understand what the Fourth Evangelist attempts to do. It becomes increasingly clear that "the Synoptics, as well as the Fourth Gospel, were written ἐκ πιστεως εἰς πίστιν;[29] but that the Fourth Gospel goes further than the others in seeking to universalize the Eternal Christ for the cultured world of His own day, and to set Him free from local trammels and trappings. While it is true to say that much of the Christology of St. Paul and of the Fourth Evangelist is already present in the Synoptic Gospels, and especially in Luke, it is not worked out there, and is overlaid with a shell of obsolete Judaism. Especially is this true of St. Matthew. If we get rid of this, what is the chief impression which they give us of Jesus? It is clear that here was One to whom they were irresistibly attracted, and whom they came to recognize as too great to be understood or expressed. "He was an imperious ruler," says Schweitzer.[30] This they clearly saw. But he eluded them. His radiant sense of God's love and nearness charmed them; His stern resolution to go through to the end with His task of revealing the suffering heart of it terrified them.

In spite of themselves—and they are very honest in this

—they gradually came to realize that His kingdom was not of this world, and to appreciate His tenderness to all sorts and conditions of men as a truer revelation of God's love than any political leader could make. This they came to know as "the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ." Here is One in fact who gives new value to God as well as to man. We see them slow of heart and mind, hesitating and often timid, yet loyal to Him, and staking their all upon His cause, even in some cases to the death. What if into their accounts there entered elements of later experience? It matters little; and in any case it is inevitable that their profound religious experience should mold their interpretation of a great new truth—a truth so revolutionary that it is still challenging human thought. "It is not Jesus as historically known, but Jesus as spiritually arisen within men who is significant for our time," says Schweitzer.[31]

If this is what really matters in the Synoptic accounts, still more is it so in the Fourth Gospel. It is "spiritual" because it seeks the spirit rather than the letter, because it seeks to interpret rather than to describe. Its Christ is substantially the same Figure in its amazing blend of humility and majesty, of tenderness and strength, of conscious unity with God and with man. He is still "Son of God" and "Son of Man." Yet He is not the same. The emphasis is changed.[32] We see Him through a haze of glory. He is, as the Prologue proclaims and as the whole Gospel implies, a divine Being, whose nature is never in doubt except by evil men. He knows no other name for God than Father. Existing from the beginning, He has taken human form with some of its limitations, yet never doubts or hesitates, but moves majestically forward, revealing the divine glory by symbolic acts, by stupendous signs, and by discourses of finished perfection.[33] Though scholars may not accept these as the authentic words of the Jesus of history, we are free to accept them as those of the Eternal Christ, speaking through a human friend, who meditates aloud and is often unconscious if it is he or his Lord who speaks. It is a prophet speaking "in the spirit,"

a mystic at his contemplation. We who overhear gain the impression of a Divine Being who is concerned with revealing God in His own Person, and therefore utters discourses about Himself in place of parables of the Kingdom of God. He is concerned at once to show His own unique relation to God and His subordination to Him, His preëxistence with God and His mystical and ethical unity with Him.[84] He reveals God as Love and Himself as coöperating in the great task of love. This is in partial agreement with the Synoptic view; but the Johannine Christ deals rather with "salvation" and the gift of Eternal Life than with "repentance," and the Kingdom, with rebirth rather than with moral reform. In these ways He is in marked contrast with the Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels, and the difference is most evident even when we find Him in the intimate act of communion with God. He is now not so much seeking strength for Himself as making intercession for the Church and for the world; and the Gospel, though it does not speak much of this Church, has it evidently much in mind. It is for this Church that He lays down His life, that He may take it again, and send the Comforter to guide her into all truth. And the Cross itself, to which He moves as a great high priest to the altar, is a manifestation of His glory, which He had with God from the beginning, and to which He now returns.

While the Gospel seems to be based as to facts chiefly upon St. Mark's account, much of the historical framework is gone, and much is changed; so that we may say in a word that it is like the Synoptic Gospels in being a blending of history and theology, but that the emphasis is shifted. The Synoptic Gospels are more historical and less theological; this Gospel is more theological and less historical. There is however so large an element of detail that it has suggested to many minds the work of an eyewitness. It may well be that it embodies elements of another eyewitness besides those used in the Synoptics; if so its title, The Gospel according to John, may be correct. And this suggestion is borne out by its character studies of the men and women

who surround the Christ. The dramatic note of the book in fact depends entirely upon the attitudes these take to the central Figure, and to His claim to be unique Son of God, to be "one with the Father." [35] In Him there is no progress, no climax of thought or action; in them there is growing opposition on the one hand, and growing understanding on the other. Here too the Fourth Gospel bears out one impression given by the Synoptics, while it differs from another. In their accounts Jesus makes bitter enemies as well as devoted friends; but we also have the dramatic interest of the progress of His own purpose, and of His growing conviction that there is only one way to accomplish it. The Johannine Christ again moves among men with less touchingly human traits. He does not play with children, or touch the leper, or sup in the house of the sinner, though He weeps for Lazarus and endures thirst and weariness. We see Him as light striving with darkness, love with hate; and though the Logos is only mentioned in the Prologue, yet the idea is a foundation stone of the whole book. Religious experience rationalizes itself in this way.

It is in fact a devout meditation upon the wonder and the glamour of the fact of the Logos, "spreading His tent among men"—a dramatic interlude between two eternities. And ever and anon we get bits of historic fact to vindicate the reality of His human form, to refute gnostic and docetic heresies, to prove that God as He was "He moved, a man with men," even carrying His own cross in the last grand gesture of self-sacrifice. So, proving His humanity to the end, He returns to God from whom He had come forth. In the Fourth Gospel we are "conscious of being in a different atmosphere, and at a different altitude." Yet as we grow accustomed to it we find that it is only a higher peak of the same great range which we have climbed in the company of the Synoptists.

What the Church thinks and feels about this historic Jesus may be summed up in the words of a great Catholic thinker; and upon these central things in her experience there is no controversy:

For a person came, and lived and loved, and did and taught, and died and rose again, and lives on by His Power and His Spirit for ever within us and amongst us, so unspeakably rich and yet so simple, so sublime and yet so homely, so divinely above us precisely, in being so divinely near, that His character and His teaching require, for an ever fuller and yet never complete understanding, the varying study, and different experiments and applications, embodiments and unrollings of all the races and civilizations, of all the individual and corporate, the simultaneous and successive experiences of the human race until the end of time.

If there is nothing shifting or fitful or simply changing about Him, there are everywhere energy and expansion, thought and emotion, effort and experience, joy and sorrow, loneliness and conflict, interior trial and triumph, exterior defeat and supplantation: particular affections, particular humiliations, homely labor, a homely heroism, greatness throughout in littleness. And in Him we find, for the first and the last time, an insight so unique, a Personality so strong and supreme as to teach us, once for all, the true attitude toward suffering. . . . With Him, and alone with Him and those who still learn and live from and by Him, there is a union of the clearest, keenest sense of all the mysterious depth and breadth and length and height of human sadness, suffering and sin, *and,* in spite of this and through this and at the end of this, a note of conquest and of triumphant joy.[36]

iii

The Sakyamuni of the Lotus has little resemblance to the historic Sakyamuni of the Pali Canon; in fact nothing remains of his human ministry. We are throughout upon a heavenly Vulture Peak, and its Lord resembles the Christ of the Apocalypse rather than of the Fourth Gospel. The Hinayana Buddhist, accepting the Pali Scriptures, will have nothing to do with the Lotus. Yet the process of deification and of universalization which is completed in it is already far advanced in them; they contain in fact several different strata of Buddhology, and though they claim like the Synoptic Gospels to record events and sayings handed down by eyewitnesses, they were not written down in their present form until about four hundred years after the teacher's death, and conflicting theories as to his person were already in circulation in the monasteries which saw the formation of the Canon.

How are we to attempt then to obtain a true portrait of the historic Sakyamuni? We may adopt the same general method as in the case of the historic Jesus. Here is one of the world's supremely great men; let us assume that he was consistent, and refuse to believe either that he was a rationalist posing as a physician of souls, or that he at once poked fun at the gods of his day and set himself up in their place as a god, infallible and omnipotent. These are two views current among scholars, and each can be proved from the Pali Canon! The first is that commonly held in the West; the second is that recently advocated by Dr. Berriedale Keith, who argues that "given the psychological conditions of the time it would have been a miracle had the Buddha been capable of the rationalism imputed to him"—[37] by Mrs. Rhys Davids and others. Yet it was the age also of the rationalistic Sankhya; and to argue, as Dr. Keith does, that Sakyamuni "felt himself to be something far superior to humanity . . . who had claims which necessarily conferred upon him a place as high as the rank of the greatest of the gods" [38] is to mistake his followers' words for his own, and to believe that he did indeed use such titles as "teacher of gods and men," and "god among gods" (devatideva). It is true that even the most rationalistic of his followers, the Vibhajjavadins, whose Canon we have, found it impossible to keep this view of his person out of their records; but that was because subsequent experience had revealed to them its amazing power and charm; because the moral authority with which he spoke seemed impossible unless he were divine; because his presence had proved a strange power in their midst enabling them to climb the steeps of the Eightfold Noble Path, and to reach the serene heights of Nibbana.

When, therefore, they compiled the suttas, their own minds were not made up about him. It is they who are inconsistent, not he. Their Buddhology, like the Christology of the Synoptists, is in a position of unstable equilibrium. When the great Brother was no longer in their midst, the Brethren began to account for their experience

by calling him devatideva, "god among the gods." [39] India has since the days of Sakyamuni accepted the doctrine that the Guru, "Teacher," is to be worshiped as God. This is found in the Svetasvatara Upanishad (VI, 23), which is post-Buddhist: "To him who has the highest devotion (bhakti) to God and to his Guru as God, to him these matters become manifest."

This doctrine is itself almost certainly due to the Buddhists who, lacking a personal God, came soon to worship their Guru. To this their art bears witness; we see men and women, kings and peasants, gods and animals, all prostrate before the Lotus Throne of Sakyamuni. The fact was that he had done what the gods had not done; and we find an authentic note of liberation and joy in such collections as the Theratherigatha, or "Psalms of the Brethren and Sisters." Undoubtedly earlier, and not far from his own time, is the famous Mahaparinibbana Sutta. Here is found a strange yet inevitable blending of historic fact and subsequent experience. Sakyamuni the aged is seen detached and calm, moving freely among men, and such events as his courteous treatment of his humble follower Chunda the smith, in whose house he ate the meal which proved fatal, no pious Buddhist could have invented. It is full of simple pathos, and his remark that "only a Buddha could digest" the food provided for him is perhaps a true reminiscence of his kindly humor. The meal was too much for him; and we see him, soon after, dying of dysentery, yet collected and dignified as the loyal and fussy Ananda and other disciples gather about him. In words which are surely authentic he bids them "Be lamps unto yourselves; and work out your own salvation with diligence." Yet even this poignant and beautiful record goes into strange psychological detail of the trance states which preceded his death, and this is either the work of a later scholasticism, or points us to a Sakyamuni who was rather Yogi than rationalist or demigod. For this view there is, indeed, much to be said. Buddhism in its beginnings had no school of philosophy and no bhakti movement; it was a kind of Yoga—an ascetic school for the

attainment of liberation through Samadhi—a mysticism to which only a few could obtain.[40] Round this group lay adherents gathered and for them a cultus was needed. This is seen in a section of this same Sutta, which evidently belongs to subsequent days, and which represents the Master as appointing four places of pilgrimage connected with his life, and solemnly promising that any who dies on such pilgrimage will go to a heaven.[41] We have, in other words, in this early Scripture, elements of fact recorded by eye-witnesses, and mingled with them are later passages incorporating subsequent stages of Buddhology. These strata can be traced all through the Suttas. On the whole the Majjhima Nikaya is fullest of historic detail, and gives us the most real characters; but it too is composite, and in all we find passages which belong to the old Indian Yoga. Many of the oldest and noblest monuments at such places as Sarnath and Anuradhapura bear out this view of him. Here he is the typical Yogi, seated "with body, head and neck in perfect equilibrium," like a lamp in a windless place, unflickering," described in the Bhagavad-gita.[42] Such passages are common in the Tripitaka, yet are overlaid with much which belongs to a later time and to the Buddhism of the masses.

To cut away later growths and yet to leave a figure authoritative and attractive enough to account for the subsequent experience of the Sangha and the amazing history of early Buddhism—that is the problem of the critic. In this task some writers, including such sympathetic and notable scholars as Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, have, I think, gone too far. When the latter says, "In his religion the person of the Buddha has no place," [43] he seems to Japanese scholars like Anesaki, who know the history of Buddhism from within, to be strangely wide of the mark. Dr. Anesaki rightly sees in the person of the Buddha "the pivot on which all Buddhist thought turns":[44] for in him "personal perfection is united with universal truth." And our problem is to account for two rival Buddhist views of the meaning of that Person. Both views demand implicit

faith in him. As Poussin and Keith have shown, faith plays an immense part in early Buddhism; by the time of the composition of the Pali books, at any rate, the treading of the Middle Path, or the imitation of Sakyamuni, is already giving away to the cult of the Buddha, and works are being replaced by faith. "A disciple who seeks to become a Buddhist cannot obtain his end unless he has the necessary faith, as an indispensable preliminary. He must believe that the Buddha is indeed fully enlightened, the teacher of gods and men, the exalted and awakened one. . . . Faith is the root of correct knowledge. . . . The teaching of the Buddha saves him who has faith, but destroys the faithless." [45] Did Sakyamuni demand such faith? He clearly spoke with authority and made an immense impression, as one who has found truth. This truth is, however, nothing which can be thought out: "it is profound, hard to realize and to understand, not to be grasped by logical reasoning but only by the wise; it is subtle, sweet adn tranquillizing." [46] In a word, it is mystical truth; and Sakyamuni is represented as declaring that the man in the street will misunderstand him as a teacher of mere rules of moral behavior. To this mystical truth he directs men, and while he appeals to their reason he also asks for faith. He has immense reserves of truth for which they are not ready.[47] He is, in fact, not only their elder brother, but also their master, kindly yet inexorable in logic and in attack upon sceptics and unbelievers; a fatherly autocrat such as India loves. We see him, genial yet stately, at once the center of his brotherhood and their authoritative lord, and it is his personal magnetism which often explains the conversion of some opponent, after a few words from him. In hardship and in success his band of followers remain with him, and his presence is at once their inspiration and their solace. There is no more touching story in the Gospels themselves than that of the poor sweeper Sunita, upon whom this "chief of men" smiled, and to whom he gave ordination as a monk.[48] That his main purpose was to gather a band of celibates and to train them to preach the Dhamma is clear; but it is equally clear that

among the laity there grew up a less disciplined devotion to his person, which expresses itself in monuments reared by kings and rich disciples, and which soon became a veritable worship. This is evident in Asokan sculpture and unrestrained in that of Amaravati.

The jump from Pali to Sanskrit Buddhism is not so steep as it is usually held to be. For the Pali books embody a Buddhology already far advanced. The Sakyamuni of the Lotus is "god of gods" (devatideva); but so is the Sakyamuni of the orthodox Milinda Panha, most of which must belong to about the first century B.C.[49] Though it is a work with many later additions, this title is used throughout; and it occurs also in various earlier texts. And if he is Lord to angelic hosts in the Lotus, there are also represented worshiping him in Asokan sculpture of the third and second centuries B.C. It is true that there is no figure of him in this sculpture, but his symbols are there in plenty, and men and gods prostrating themselves before them are said in the inscriptions to be "worshiping the Lord."

It is surely reasonable to believe that the Buddhism which has captured the Far East and is to-day a living force among millions is not a fantastic parody of the Buddhism of the founder, but a natural development. It captured many great and critical minds not only from the ranks of Brahmanism, but also from those of Confucian literati and from the nature cults of Japan. In Sakyamuni there was an authoritative message embodied in so arresting a figure that even in his own lifetime religious experience began to center in him. Divine attributes—compassion, purity, wisdom—were his in no small measure. And if to-day a Gandhi is deified in spite of himself, he is himself responsible in large measure, by virtue of his claim to an inner light and an unquestionable authority. How much more readily might such claims be made in all good faith in the centuries preceding the Christian era, and in a country, where Brahmins were claiming divine honors, and local deities becoming great gods. In fact, we seem to see Sakyamuni resisting this process and restless in the presence

of the devotee. He was first and foremost Yogi, but he was also a reformer who aimed at giving to his people an ethical and reasonable basis for religion, and attacked dangerous doctrines such as monism and polytheism, and by-products of such doctrines such as fatalism and caste, or animal sacrifices and ritual unaccompanied by moral regeneration. He too had to pour new wine into old bottles; and he seems to have taken current conceptions such as Buddha, "Enlightened," Jina, "Victor," Cakkavatti, "Universal sovereign," and to have put a new meaning and value into them by applying them to himself. His chief aim was to give men a technique of salvation, but he sought also to make religion simple, moral, and universal, and to this aim the Lotus is true in spirit, if not in letter. It sets forth the great teacher of compassion as himself the Divine Compassion, and reveals the glad news that love is the meaning of the world, and that by responding to divine love men may become free.

Even the Gita, with far less of inspiration in a great human lover who brought the divine compassion to earth, rises to its climax in the words, "Whoso worships me in love I am in him and he in me. . . . To lasting Peace he comes, and righteousness."[50] The transfigured Sakyamuni of the Lotus is, then, an attempt to account for the authority of the Sakyamuni of history, and for subsequent experience within the Sangha. Men who had not experienced Nibbana seem to have mistaken the calm and sure note in the words of the great Yogi for a claim to divinity; and failing to secure the stoic's liberation fell back upon that available to the devotee.

What if in doing so they were truer to human nature than the austere and impotent monk? That is the challenge flung by the Mahayanist to those who claim to be more orthodox. "What," he may ask, "If the Lotus gives a consistent account of the Eternal Buddha in place of the conflicting views of the Pali Canon?" While we cannot accept the Buddhology of either unless we become Buddhists, we can at least acknowledge that here is religion speaking a

universal language, and that if there is no Eternal Sakyamuni, there *is* Eternal Love. If the One Way of the Lotus is not *the* way, it yet leads more directly to it than the narrow road of the stoical and self-centered Arhat. Buddhism, like Christianity, contained from the first a universalism which the monk ignores or denies.

It is in a real sense a *praeparatio evangelica* which India has had in the Gita and Lotus. Krishna and Sakyamuni are worthy to be called "companions of the Logos." Are they less great than Heraclitus and Socrates? And their devoted followers who wrote to universalize their teachings may not unfittingly be called Johannine.

Yet no useful purpose is served by ignoring the profound differences between these three great figures. Krishna, the theistic teacher and warrior, who becomes the avatar; Sakyamuni, the Yogi and teacher of salvation, who becomes devatideva; Jesus, the Prophet of God and Suffering Servant, who becomes Logos and True God. These are very different figures. And the three books which universalize them were completed under conditions at once similar and profoundly different.

CHAPTER III

THE ENVIRONMENT OF THE THREE BOOKS AND THEIR AIMS

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We may picture the writers of these books as living at great intellectual and cosmopolitan centers. It is at such that synthesis is active.

Criticism supports the old and strong tradition that the Evangelist was a Jew of Palestine living at Ephesus; and we may imagine him yearning to take the great city for his Lord. Its beauty must have charmed him; its intellectual life cannot have passed him by; and its idolatry and worldliness were a constant challenge to his faith. Here life was teeming and intense, and there was an undercurrent of spiritual longing and unrest.

Far off the mountains, Prion and Paktyas, stood sentinel; and beyond stretched the long range of Samos and the curving shore. Here the winding Kayster poured its waters into the great harbor, with its ships from many lands. Over against them were the Stadium and the lofty pillared shrine of Artemis aglow with color; and along the roads from Smyrna and other cities came caravans and hordes of worshipers of the ancient many-breasted Mother. She was a symbol of the fruitfulness and power of nature, who had been identified at Ephesus with the Greek Artemis. Like Mother Earth she was tolerant of all, and her temple was a sanctuary for refugees, for criminals, and for vagrants of many lands. As we learn from the Book of Acts, swarms of parasites such as the silversmiths who made her images surrounded her, and there were also priestesses, eunuchs, sorcerers, and magicians.

Here indeed Paganism cried out for redemption, and life was unsanctified and confused. Pessimism had in fact laid its cold hand upon the Hellenic world, and the Stoic seemed unable to reassure it. He magnified personality—only to blot it out—and left God an enigma.[1] Materialism and fatalism were rife. Yet there is another side to the life of these times which is more important and hopeful. In reaction from this wave of pessimism and fatalism there was heard on all sides a poignant cry for life, for salvation. Man refused to believe that the body is the grave of the spirit, and that he is merely a part of the material world, itself destined to end in a great conflagration. Nor was he satisfied with the bland assurance that this cycle will be renewed, and that he is bound by inexorable fate to take his part once more in the same meaningless round of existence. On an Orphean tablet is the line, "At last have I fled from the circle of ill, the toil-laden ring."

In Greece and Asia Minor as in India the human conscience and heart protested against this monstrous nightmare of rebirth; and the mystery religions are, like the religions of India, a promise of salvation. They teach that the initiate is "saved," is "born again to eternal life," is "enlightened" or "glorified," for the Logos or Divine Reason enters into him, and gives him power over nature, recreating him so that he is no longer an impotent puppet at the mercy of capricious demons and inexorable Fate, but is in a sense God. Great and impressive sacraments like the Taurobolium symbolized this new birth to Eternal Life; and "men were thirsty to believe and worship." Many too were hungry and thirsty for righteousness: the world was very evil, and the earlier mystery cults sounded no clear ethical note. None was wholly moral.

The symbolism of such mystery chapels as the basilica of the Via Praenestina in Rome reveals in a very vivid way something at once of the strength and the weakness of these cults. Here are frescoes which speak of the hope of a life beyond, and also of victory and release in this world. The story of Orpheus rescuing Eurydice from Hades is popular,

and was readily taken over by the Christian Church, which also absorbed much of the language of the mysteries. The fable of Eros and Psyche too, sensuous as it is, was allegorized and sublimated in the mysteries, and the Christian conscience did not reject it. It appears in some places of Christian worship. Nor can it be doubted that the Good Shepherd of some of the catacombs and sarcophagi is a pagan deity. But side by side with these stories and legendary figures go pictures of the rape of Ganymede and of various women of the old mythology, and the Church can no more allegorize these than it can make terms with the amours of the Puranic Krishna. There are limits even to allegorizing.

It is important, then, to note that while these cults of the ancient pagan world educated their votaries in the faith of a life beyond the grave and even gave to those who sought it a moral tonic, yet they also supplied the lascivious with orgies; some indeed were frankly immoral throughout. The cult of Mithras owed much of its success to this, that it was no more magic ceremonial, but had a strong moral appeal. Yet it had no place for women, and it made no alliance with the loftier thought of Greece. We may perhaps say that, as this thought led the cultured on into Christianity, so Mithraism was a stepping stone for the barbarians of the Empire.

Let us glance at these nobler allies and forerunners of the Gospel. Greek philosophy, seeking unity and reason, rose as high as it is given to philosophy to rise. Stoicism, proclaiming brotherhood, spoke to the conscience and will. "Thought was fired by the consciousness of the divine element within and the divine without and their unity: and man reached a level of courage, a tenacity of endurance, and even a height of cheerfulness, which make them signal figures in an age of depression and weakness." [2] Stoicism indeed produced as lofty an ethic as any pre-Christian system; more, it sought to hold up God, enigma though He was, and to justify His ways to men. There was struck a new note of inwardness in religion. Prayer was common,

and man became more sensitive to sin. "If sin abounded," as indeed it did, there was a growing conviction that "grace did more exceedingly abound."

Here was indeed a preparation for the Gospel. "The more one studies this era, the more will he be persuaded that the Christ came in the fullness of time." [3]

These movements of the Spirit were stirring in the womb of Time, awaiting a new and energizing touch. Here in Ephesus, Heraclitus, thinker and recluse, had taught six centuries ago; and his "dark sayings" were still discussed, a kind of mystical, semi-materialistic monism, which saw in nature a continual flux, as the energies and potencies of life unfolded themselves. Yet he seems to have seen Reason at work in them, and this light he handed on to his successors, among whom were Socrates and Plato, and the Stoics, who in the days of the Evangelist were still philosophizing about the Logos. With them no doubt the Jews had many discussions. Stoic influence on Philo and on St. Paul is very evident. Many Jews were dissatisfied with orthodox Judaism, and were seeking new truth; some were coquetting with heathenism, such as the magicians whom we meet in Acts. Others were zealous for orthodoxy, and persecuted St. Paul when he came to Ephesus to set up the Christian Church.

This Church at the time of the Evangelist was threatened with extreme conservatism, which resented his universalist tendency: and also by an incipient gnosticism and docetism, which he at once propitiates and attacks. Here at Ephesus taught Cerinthus the Gnostic: and here later Justin Martyr held his controversies with the Jews and others, and showed a strange mixture of tolerance and intolerance. Socrates and Heraclitus he calls Christians "because they kept company with the Logos"; the Logos doctrine he developed not very helpfully, except that he stimulated the master-mind of Origen. His comments on the mystery cults are severe: "The rites of Mithras," he says, "evil demons have delivered to be done," a comment which reminds us of many things which missionaries to Asia have said in more recent

times. Even Clement of Alexandria goes so far as to call these cults "that seed of evil and ruin."

Critics who are making much of the debt of the early Church to the mysteries do not always tell us of their many evil aspects, to which that Church was fully awake, and which no student can ignore. We get a glimpse of the Church of this first century in the Apocalypse: the letter to the Christians at Ephesus tells us that they "had given up loving one another as they did at first," and promises "to him that overcometh I will give to eat of the tree of life." Here are familiar thoughts and words which the Fourth Evangelist, writing to the whole world of Jews and Greeks, but especially perhaps to the Christians of his own city, caught up: "Little children, love one another," says the First Epistle, and "This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith." And the Gospel also has many such words: "A new commandment give I unto you, that you love one another." The Ephesian Church must have found it hard to reconcile the Jesus of St. Mark's account, which they had had for a generation or more, with the Cosmic Christ of its founder, St. Paul.

The Evangelist seeks to reconcile these views. To all alike, Christians, Jews, Stoics, Greeks, and Asiatics, he offers the universal gospel of the Christ. To all alike the new Word of Life was spoken. Seekers after life, they were to be given life more abundant. Seekers after truth, they were to find that truth itself had dwelt among men, to fulfill and correct their half-truths. To the intellectualist Greek He was to be revealed as a potent act of God, whom to "know" was life indeed—life for the whole man, not only for the mind. To the followers of the mystery religions here was the Savior from sin, the Lifegiver whom they had sought; and to pagan and Jew alike here was the Father manifested in His only Son. Here for the Gnostic was a true Gnosis, a knowledge springing from obedience and lit by love, "that great hierophant of the Christian mysteries." To the docetist here was a vindication alike of the humanity of Jesus and of His oneness with

God. The First Epistle is specially concerned to bring these truths home to docetists: and to make it clear to converts from paganism that Jesus, whom they were apt to worship as a new God, is one with the God of Israel. It is an eirenicon between Hebraic and Gentile Christianity;[4] and the Fourth Gospel has a similar purpose. It is also an eirenicon between the literalists and the more discerning.

Such, very slightly sketched, was the environment of the Fourth Gospel. It is a document of supreme genius called into being by the needs of three great peoples—Romans, Greeks, and Hebrews. These met and mingled at Ephesus.

We are on less explored and less sure ground in supposing that the Gita in its present shape was compiled at Indraprastha,[5] or some other center of the "land of the holy sages" (Brahmarshidesa). Kurukshetra, the reputed scene of the interview between Krishna and Arjuna, was the stronghold of Brahmanism for a thousand years. This midland plain between the Sarasvati and the Drishadvati rivers had already a long history before our era, as the scene of many battles and the literary center of ancient India. It is in fact the holy place of her Holy Land, Brahmavarta. Above it far off soar the Himalayas, below it spreads the vast Indian plain. "He who holds Delhi holds India"; this is true in the intellectual and in the religious realm as well as in that of politics.

We may then picture some Brahmin thinker returning to this Holy Land from the Outland to southeast and west, filled with amazement and alarm at the success of the Bhagavata movement, and bringing with him the theistic tract which became the nucleus of the Gita. As he studied it, he was no doubt charmed by this picture of a Blessed One, so human and so divine. And as he pondered this drama of divine incarnation, the daring thought took shape that this new Lord might well be presented as an avatar of Brahman-atman. When they identified the Brahman of ritual with the Atman of spiritual vision, Indians took a step which inevitably led on; by it Brahmanism prepared itself to expand into Hinduism. All the gods could be welcomed

and naturalized on this pantheistic soil. Krishna, for instance, identified with Isvara and Vishnu, was accepted as the Brahman-atman appearing among men. These accommodations are common in religion, and a commonplace of Asiatic religion, which lacks the wholesome intolerance of the Jew. The Buddhism of Nepal claims that it is Avalokitesvara who is incarnate in the gods of all peoples, and seems to be feeling its way toward a monotheistic phase as it looks toward the Adi-Buddha. This process of subsuming the various gods as expressions of the One is not necessarily disingenuous. It is natural that when a missionary religion meets with popular local gods it should claim them for its own. We find St. Paul claiming the "unknown God" of Athens, as the Lord whom he preached. In Ephesus the Greeks had identified the old Earth goddess with their own Artemis; and St. Paul may have had this in mind when he preached to the farmers of Asia Minor the "God of rain and fruitful seasons." Buddhism has in every country, and notably in Japan, identified the new Buddhas and Bodhisattvas with the old nature deities. Among the earliest statues made in Japan is the greatest of all her sculptures, the Healing Buddha, Yakushi, and with him are the Gods of Sun and Moon. Very soon the old Sun goddess, perhaps an early priestess, accepted as the ancestor of their royal house, was identified by the Japanese with the great Sun Buddha Vairochana. So in the mid-east Mithras, who seems to have come into Buddhism as Maitreya, and was once an intermediary, became identified with the Sun, worshiped as supreme, and accepted by the Roman army, until he was a serious rival to the God of the Christians.

It is surely a sound policy when Christians such as Sadhu Sundar Singh preach Jesus as Bhagavan, and adapt the Hindu doctrines of Avatara, Prasad, Bhakti to Christian uses.

Such is the method of the Fourth Gospel. It cannot have won immediate acceptance. When we find Cornutus identifying Hermes with the Logos [8] we are apt to rebel.

But this is because the term Logos is for us filled with Christian meaning. To the contemporaries of Cornutus and of the Evangelist it meant, as we have seen, something different. And to-day Buddhist and Hindu terms may be taken over, and ennobled by a wise strategy.

If this is so we must not accuse such writers as the editor of the Gita of intentional untruth. If Jews, like Saul of Tarsus and John of Ephesus, could take this step, how much easier was it for the tolerant pantheist. Behind the identification of Krishna with Vishnu there is the long story of the development of this ancient Sun God of the Rig Veda, and it is significant to find the Gita also identifying him with the atheistic Kapila, the founder of the Sankhya system.[7]

To Indraprastha there came continual evidence of the success of Buddhism, which was also at this time hospitable to other gods, and ready to accept them as manifestations of the eternal Buddha; and the Vedantist decided to fight Buddhism with its own weapons.

The Gita in its present form is, then, at once an eirenicon and a polemical writing, and Bhagavatas as well as Buddhists were offered an easy bridge by which they might return to the ample fold of Brahmanism. At such cities as Indraprastha, as at Ephesus, were no doubt men of many temperaments and many religious beliefs. Here monist and polytheist, philosopher and devotee, worlding and ascetic, priest and begging-friar all sought with more or less earnestness and intelligence for truth. And here the laity were ready to follow any leader who spoke with authority, and with a message to heart and conscience. As at Ephesus, they were hungry for assurance of salvation and life. Eager discussion of religious creeds is still to be found in the modern Delhi, where mullah and pandit, sannyasi and householder, philosopher and devotee are still at the eternal task. Government is tolerant of all. Like Asoka and Akbar it has found that only so can India be ruled.

It may help us to think of the great Akbar, who in the sixteenth century busied himself seeking a religion for all Hindustan by blending the best in all. For a time he seemed

to have repudiated Islam with its clean-cut and intolerant monotheism; it is certain that for three years he coquetted with the Jesuit missionaries of the Cross only to find them as uncompromising. The Gospels he pressed to his heart with marked devotion; and he asked for a picture of the Blessed Virgin that he might worship it. But the exclusive claims of the Christians alarmed this eclectic politician, who sought to win by seeming to yield. If he, reared a follower of Mohammed, could almost succeed in such an experiment, how easily might the pantheist Brahmin. He knew that great as are the Upanishads, they are not easy to translate into daily life. Here was a religious movement among the masses which could readily be assimilated, and which might serve to win them back from such movements, and from the equally democratic and human fold of popular Buddhism.

Indian nationalism itself seemed to demand that some less pacific creed than Buddhism, some more popular creed than Brahmanism, be set to work to weld the masses into a unity, and to organize them into a society. Here in this Bhagavata movement was something at once popular enough and religious enough to save the day, if it were rightly handled. So the Epics were rewritten, and old sagas made the vehicle of popular religion. It is an age of reconstruction everywhere. Not only are the Brahmins learning lessons from Buddhism and from popular Hinduism; they are "peacefully penetrating" both. Very soon Buddhism itself became so like Brahmanism that it perished in India; it had lost its reason for being there. More conscious was the process which seems to be at work in the Gita; but in both we see the ancient "Ineffable" of Indian mysticism mediated and made articulate to the common people, and a bhakti movement develops round both Sakyamuni and Krishna. The philosophers of both religions accept this as a concession to human needs. For themselves there is the higher truth (paramatthasatya), of the mystic; the doctrine of the avatar, or nirmanakaya, is lila, or play-acting. The supreme Reality is still the unknowable and inexpressible—

the Atman for the Brahmin, and Nibbana for the Buddhist. But for the masses there must be accommodation of truth. Let this everyday and relative reality be their guide and satisfaction.

Such then is an attempted reconstruction of the processes at work in the redaction of the Gita. We may modify it if we prefer, and suppose some Bhagavata coming to Kurukshetra and studying the thought of the Brahmin, and like the author of the Fourth Gospel pouring this new wine of his religious experience into the old bottles of Brahmin philosophy.

If Kurukshetra was the stronghold of Brahmanism during our period, Gandhara and Kashmir were no less certainly the fastnesses of Buddhism. At the frontier city of Taxila one may see to-day the remains of several ruined capitals; and here was a great university and a stronghold of Vedic learning as well as of Buddhism. Nearby was Purusapura, the modern Peshawar, and both were great cosmopolitan centers. Situated on a branch of the Indus as it pours down from the mountains into the plains of the northwest, Purusapura was the capital of Kanishka, about the middle of the first century A.D. His coins show that he too was tolerant. For while some suggest that he was the patron of Buddhism, others show his interest in Hinduism, and even in Mithra and other gods of Persia. An inscription, recently discovered and now in the Museum at Lahore, reveals the fact that he took the title of "Caesar"; and there are other evidences that many currents of political and religious thought flowed through these ancient cities. At Taxila are the remains of a Persian temple and a very early Aramaic inscription, and the sculpture which abounds in this neighborhood shows strong Hellenistic influence; not only has Sakyamuni become a young Apollo, but Heracles is seen with his lion, and Bacchanalian scenes are not uncommon. Here too is Apollo himself in his four-horsed chariot; or is it Surya, the Vedic sun god? Sun-worship, Greek, Persian and Indian, was evidently common. How should the lay people distinguish between the various forms of sun

deity? Vairochana, who comes at this time into Buddhism, is a sun god of the Mithras type, and the many-armed Avalokitesvara, "the god who looks down," is clearly of the same family. We are not surprised to find the Greek Heliodorus, whose name suggests sun-worship, passing from Taxila to a city in central India and setting up a column to Vasudeva as "God of Gods." This was in the second century B.C., and his column can still be seen near Sanchi, where Buddhist influence was strong enough for several centuries after Asoka to build such superb monuments as the great Stupa. Popular Buddhism and popular Hinduism were strong rivals also in the Krishna country about Mathura, which Fahian found full of religious buildings and statues in the early fifth century A.D. It awaits further archeological exploration, and must be full of valuable remains. One has only to go into some of the Hindu temples to find images of Buddha and of Kanishka, now serving as Hindu gods; and this will remind us how easily in India the religions overlap and merge.

Buddhism in such centers as these was in contact with the cults of Vishnu and of Siva as well as of Persian deities. It was itself divided, and seems to have sought alliance wherever it could find it. Some of its followers drew upon the rationalist Sankhya, which also rejects the monism of the Upanishads and aims at salvation from suffering. Others were more attracted by the Isvara of the Yoga, and others again by such movements as that of the Bhagavatas. When Kanishka called a council of the elders it was apparently to protect Buddhism from the new liberalism of the Mahayana, and to remind its followers that the austere monks who called them back to the Middle Path were truer to the Founder. Whether Kanishka took the lead in this or not, he seems to have caused a commentary on the Scriptures to be engraved upon copper and buried in a great mound near his capital; and that there was need for such action is clear.

The writer or writers of the Lotus we may imagine working in some Buddhist monastery of this region, or in

some monastic cell overlooking the great spaces of the vale of Kashmir, where the mind is attuned to large and unifying concepts.

Side by side in such monasteries lived men of different views. Some were docetists who strove to do away with all human traits of the historic Sakayamuni. Others were dogmatic rationalists becoming more negative, as the vitality of the movement ebbed. Beyond the frontier lay heathen lands waiting to be evangelized; and already into these intrepid missionaries like Punna the disciple of Sakyamuni, and Majjhantika the envoy of Asoka, had penetrated. What sort of Buddhism could best meet the needs of these savage tribes, answer the heresy of the docetists, and overthrow once and for all the negations of the rationalists? The Lotus Scripture is the answer to these questions. Affirming the historicity of Sakyamuni and concentrating upon the central compassion of his message, it at the same time finds a place for deities of mid-Asiatic origin like Avalokitesvara and Vairochana. Again, while it lays great stress upon bhakti it does not neglect the older emphasis upon Jñana, and while it is popular enough for the masses it embodies characteristic philosophic doctrines. It does not even forget the extreme rationalist: "There is not a single word in the Lotus which is not capable of an orthodox *i.e.* atheist interpretation." [8]

The Lotus is in fact a polemical writing to protect Buddhism from this attractive Neo-Hinduism, which was able to win converts even among the Greeks. And like the Gita it faces many ways, aiming not so much at consistency as at universality.

That the new Hinduism was in contact with Buddhism is clear from several passages in Hindu books. The Epic mentions "Buddhas" and "wearers of the yellow robe who reject the Vedas";[9] there is, moreover, one striking passage in the Twelfth Book which has been considered a reference to early Persian or Alexandrian or Bactrian Christianity, but which is much more likely to be a description of early Mahayana Buddhism. It tells of the voyage across the sea

of three pilgrims to a northern land where they beheld "shining white men with palms ever joined in supplication and prayer to the Supreme Being, and with faces turned to the North and the East." It says that these great-hearted ones used mental prayer, and continues, "Then we suddenly saw a glory diffused, like that of a thousand suns shining at once, and those men quickly advanced toward that glory, joyfully exclaiming, 'Hail to Thee!' We heard the loud sound of them exclaiming, and knew that these men were offering the oblation to God; but we were rendered suddenly unconscious by his splendor and saw nothing, deprived of the use of our eyes, void of strength and senseless. But we only heard a loud cry uttered: 'Thou art victorious, O Lotus-eyed. Hail to thee, O Creator of the Universe! Hail to thee, thou eldest Son of the Supreme Soul!' Such was the sound heard by us, accompanied with teaching. In the meanwhile, a pure wind, laden with perfumes, brought heavenly flowers and healing drugs." [10] It is certainly tempting to the Christian to find here an account of a Eucharist in some far northern city. But the only sentence which really suggests Christianity is "Hail to Thee, thou eldest Son of the Supreme Soul," and this is in fact much more likely addressed to Manjusri, who is always called Raja Kumara, or "elder son of the King"; and all the other epithets such as "Victorious," "Lotus-eyed," "Creator of the Universe," are characteristic Mahayana phrases. Moreover this early Mahayana had a stronghold in Bactria and Kashmir, lands of white men, where, as Hopkins shows, is the "Sea of Milk." It is suggestive that the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, who visited this land in the seventh century, describes a bright apparition, and tells us that seeing it he "uttered words of worship and scattered flowers and incense." [11]

Both these stories are puzzling. The dazzling light in the latter seems only to be accounted for, as Beal suggests, as a pious fraud perpetrated upon the faithful; those who are eager to find in the former an account of an early Eucharist have no explanation to offer.[12]

If we must seek evidence of Christian influence on Indian religion, this is certainly not the best passage to choose! But there is at present no real evidence of such influence either way, though the legend that St. Thomas came to Taxila has increasing support.[13] The passage in the Epic is clearly late, and is intended to account for the appearance of monotheists (ekantikas) in India. The elaborately ritualistic religion which it describes may well be a form of Northern Buddhism, which had itself come into contact with Mithraism or Nestorian Christianity. It is perhaps worth noting that the Syriac word for savior or lifegiver is Mahyana, and this may have had something to do with the choice of a title for the new Buddhism and with its emphasis on salvation by faith. An Aramaic inscription has been found at Taxila; and though Mahayana of course means "Great Way," yet India rejoices in such plays upon words.

It is further noteworthy that the Buddha of the Paradise Mahayana is the Buddha of the West, and his names Amitayu, "Eternal Life," and Amitabha, "Eternal Light," have a Johannine ring. Yet these concepts are also found in many other religions, such as the cult of Hermes; and we cannot at present take this matter beyond the realm of conjecture.

When we turn to the relations of Lotus and Gita we are in sight of proof of indebtedness, for as we have seen these Scriptures are the expression of two religions which were neighbors and rivals; but when it is a question of resemblances between these books and the Fourth Gospel we can only suppose that similarity of historic causes and of human needs is the explanation. Even if St. Thomas did reach Taxila, it was before the Fourth Gospel was written.

These three books then, were composed by men face to face with definite historic situations. To reconstruct these is a most difficult task. This much however may be accepted, that all three unknown writers had a definite aim, which was to preserve the reality of a genuine experience and to safeguard it from evaporating into a vague idealism.

Because this process was already at work in the incipient gnosticism and docetism of parts of the early Church, and in the docetism of the Lokuttaravada sect of Buddhism, they are polemical works; at the same time they are eirenical, seeking to capture the allegiance of these heretics to a truer view. Written at critical times and in an age of cosmopolitanism and synthesis, they all seek to universalize the truth which is dear to them, and yet to safeguard it from insidious attack from within and without.

The chief enemy is materialism. Facing this foe, religion can show no mercy; and we find accordingly that each of these great books is at once the most loving and the most intolerant expression of the religion that produced it.

For the Evangelist everything is black or white. His denunciation of falsehood is emphatic and pungent. His Christ is Savior but also Judge, and the materialistic Jews are "children of the Devil." He is emphatic in declaring that it is the spirit which quickens; and that though the reality of the physical embodiment of the Logos must be vindicated, there is great danger in materialistic interpretations. "The Word became flesh," yet "the flesh profiteth nothing."

For the author of the Gita there is room in Krishna's presence for sinners and even for women and Sudras, though these are rather grudgingly admitted; there is none for materialists like Charvaka. Perverted in spirit, mean of understanding, cruel in works, they arise as foes to destroy the world.[14] Such are called demoniacs. Fatal to men is unbelief and scepticism.[15] The Gita also shows its contempt for the materialism of the rewards offered by Vedic teachers.[16] They are said to be repeaters of "shadows of speech," mistaking the real things in the Vedas, and "filled with desire," or attachment to these temporal rewards. The chief ethical aim of the Gita being to inculcate detachment, and its central religious aim being to universalize the religious life, it cannot tolerate the ritualism and greed of the priests: "Fools . . . whose souls are all lust, whose goal is a Paradise." [17] It is as vehement as

Sakyamuni in attacking the literalist and the materialist, within and without the pale of orthodoxy.

The Lotus too condemns both these classes. Better than worldly wisdom and scepticism is the simple-minded humility of such as Sadaparibhuta, the "ever-despised," [18] a former incarnation of Sakyamuni himself. The proud and narrow arhats of the older Buddhism who are sceptical as to the new Gospel are also roundly condemned, and Sakyamuni congratulates the assembly when they rise and go out. They are well rid, he tells them, of such trash and chaff as these proud fools. To the liberal school they seem materialistic; in cleaving to the letter they miss the spirit of Sakyamuni.

Each book, then, recognizes that it is faced with enemies within and without, and the former are foes more insidious, because less easily recognized, than the avowed materialist and sceptic.

In the Gita it is clear that Hinduism is consciously taking the offensive against its successful rival Buddhism.

It opposed to Buddhist monasticism a sturdy lay religion. It is eloquent that both Lotus and Gita admit women to salvation; though it is only a side-door, as it were, which they open! This incident in the Lotus of the Naga-girl who becomes a Buddha refutes the old insistence on rebirth as a man, as does the grudging admission of the Gita. If one religion relaxes its rules, then the other must do so too!

The Gita is openly opposed to the pacifism of such Buddhists as Asoka; and Buddhism, while admitting soldiers as lay adherents, is, like early Christianity, essentially opposed to war. Its opposition to the caste system, too, was as much a threat to the stability of Indian society as was the early Church to the structure of imperial Rome. The Gita defends the caste system and gives expression to the very nationalism which Jesus and Sakyamuni refuse to sanction.

The Lotus again may well be an attempt on the part of the Buddhists to set up a Bhagavata school, to carry the war into the enemy's country, and to produce a bhakti cult

which could compete with the popular Vaishnavite and Saivite movements. Buddhism, in fact, goes halfway to meet its rivals; and we know how successful it was in winning over great Brahmin leaders like Asvaghosa, Nagarjuna, Kumarajiva, and others, who became its leading apologists. In them Brahmanism began its peaceful penetration of its rival, which in the hour of its victory is beginning all unconsciously to return to the very monism and pantheism against which it had risen to protest. These over-philosophical converts were a doubtful accession. Sakyamuni knew what he was doing when he bade men subordinate metaphysical to practical questions. And in this all our three authors are agreed. Even the Gita is a handbook for the practical man; it is a textbook of Yoga for those who cannot be Yogis! It calls them to find salvation in action.

Yet Gita, Lotus, and Gospel all seek to find a place for the intellect, and to reconcile its claims with those of the will and emotions. This aim is abundantly clear in the Gita, where Jñana, "intuitive knowledge," karma, "works," and bhakti, "loving faith" are all shown to be true ways. "Most dear to me," says Krishna, "is the man of knowledge . . . the man of works, the devotee, the Yogi." But in the end he makes it clear that the best of all is the devotee. Bhakti is for Vaishnavaite Hinduism, as for Christianity, "the more excellent way."

This is set forth in a more personal and less abstract way in the Fourth Gospel, which also subordinates works to faith or belief: "This is the work of God, that ye believe on Him whom He hath sent." [19] Knowledge, again, must express itself in action: "If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them." [20] And it springs from action: "He that willeth to the will shall know of the doctrine." Bhakti, again, must be a matter of the will as well as of the emotions: "Ye are my friends if ye do that which I command you." And occasionally knowledge and faith or belief are used almost as synonyms, e.g.; "That ye may know and believe that the Father is in me and I in Him." [21] The

Evangelist in his use of the term "knowledge" shows himself, as always, a Hebrew familiar with Greek thought. For him knowledge has a moral and religious significance; and so, while, like the Gita, the Fourth Gospel has an intellectualist tinge and holds out a hand to Gnosis, it subordinates it to Pistis, and above all to Agape, Love.

The Lotus, true to its nature as a Buddhist book, places the emphasis upon Bodhi or enlightenment. This is the goal. But it also emphasizes the importance of Saddha, faith. What Sakyamuni says is said with authority, and the man who accepts his word will obtain enlightenment. There is also emphasis upon activity. Men are called by their very nature to be Bodhisattvas, to go forth and preach "out of compassion to mankind."

In fact, all three books, by making their appeal that of a Person to persons, have a message for the whole personality. Though, as we shall see, Krishna is less truly personal than the Johannine Christ, and the Sakyamuni of the Lotus is more of an apparition or adaptation to human needs than a real being, yet for most of their devotees these are real personal Gods, and they have done much to call out moral and intellectual response as well as affection. These books are a challenge to men to find in a Person the finest expression of Truth. Their central aim is now becoming clear: it is to reveal the mystery of love.

iii

All three books are in fact "gospels," written to bid men be of good cheer, for the Eternal has spoken, and Divine Grace is enthroned at the heart of things. They all, in a word, tell of a Beloved Hero who is the manifestation in time of Eternal Truth, who flings wide the portals of salvation, and appeals to men to enter, and to respond to the call of duty by embodying the Divine Grace in their own lives. These are the central purposes of the books. This is the mystery which all reveal.

Let us hear their unknown authors speak in their own words, and tell us what it was they were inspired to teach.

Most clear and concise is the statement of the Fourth Gospel, that it had both a theological and a religious purpose. "These signs are recorded, that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and believing may have Life through His Name." [22] The Evangelist seeks to express a certain conception of the nature of the historic Jesus, a conception based upon the experience of the Christian Church in the first hundred years of its life, and to express this conception in terms intelligible to the mind of his own time, a mind formed by Hellenistic as well as Hebrew influences. He also seeks through this faith to lead man to Life.

The Word became flesh, and tarried among us;
We have seen His glory—glory such as an only son enjoys
From His Father—seen it to be full of grace and reality . . .
No one has ever seen God, but God has been unfolded by the Divine One,
The Only Son, who lies upon the Father's breast.[23]

To identify Jesus, accepted as Christ, or Messiah in a spiritual sense, with the Logos, to show Him as Son of God, the express image of the Father, and to offer Life to all through Him—this is the main purpose of the Gospel. The Epistle, which is a kind of epilogue, expresses this in the words, "This is the real God, this is Life Eternal." [24] The central teaching of both is the great mystery of God's Love.

The chief aim of the Gita is stated in several passages: "Being birthless, inexhaustible in essence, and lord of creatures, I am born through my delusive power (maya)," [25] and the book rises to its climax in the revelation of the sublime mystery of the Divine Lover. His watchful care is described: "Whenever piety declines and impiety arises, then I become incarnate. To protect the righteous, and to destroy the evil-doer, I appear from age to age. Whosoever knows this truth of my divine birth and work is not reborn; he comes to me." [26] As the Christ of the Fourth Gospel makes the stupendous claim, "Before Abraham was I am," [27] so the Krishna of the Gita says, "This eternal truth

I declared to the Sun himself" (*i.e.* when Time began).[28] And as the Gospel seeks to identify the historic Jesus with the Eternal Logos, so the Gita seeks to identify Krishna with the creative Brahman:

> I make and I unmake the universe.
> Than Me there is no other master, prince,
> No other maker! All these hang on me
> As hangs a row of pearls upon a string.[29]

Such is the eternal creative, sustaining and destroying power of Krishna-Vishnu-Brahman. This staggering claim is paralleled by that of the Christ of the Fourth Gospel, "My Father worketh hitherto and I work"—words which sum up the doctrine of the Prologue that he is the creative Word of God, whom the rest of the Gospel aims at portraying in action.

As embodiment of the Eternal, each Hero is full of grace, and makes his appeal to all: "I am alike for all: I know not hate nor favor," says Krishna.[30] "I am the Good Shepherd. . . . I have other sheep who are not of this fold," [31] says Christ.

This then is the central aim alike of Gospel and of Gita —to relate the Beloved Hero to the Eternal, to show that the Eternal is like him, and that his saving grace avails for all who turn to him. To these aims we shall return later, only noting here two very vital points. The Gita has its eye on India alone, and seems never to consider a wider audience. Wide as its scope is, it does not go outside India or even beyond the four castes, two of which in fact it treats rather curtly. The Gospel carries its good news of the Divine Fatherhood to its logical conclusion. When Jesus cries, "I and my Father are one," [22] he is stating a truth of more universal scope and more profound import than Krishna, when he says, "I am the Father of the world." [32] As we shall see, this phrase is used in a very technical sense, and is just one of those verses which are constantly being quoted out of their context, to give a wrong impression of the essence of the Gita. What it actually

means in, "I am Procreator of the World." The Gita, moreover, loses much of its glamour when we find that Krishna's incarnations are due to maya, "magic," or to lila, "sport," and when through the splendor of his omnipresent activity and benevolence we see gleaming the tusks and devouring maw of an earlier nature deity, it is hard for any but Hindus not to be repelled.[34]

Apocalypse is indeed somewhat repulsive to the normal mind of to-day. Yet when we turn to our own Book of Revelation it is evident that the Lamb has entered into His own, and even the Ancient of Days with eyes of flame and tongue of fire is subordinated to Him. At the heart of the Divine Mystery is "the Lamb slain from the foundations of the world." The Gita is and has been a gospel to millions who are not much concerned with its philosophy, who are familiar with the ferocious aspect of their gods, and who rightly adhere to its central manifestation of Divine Grace. An imperfect theism, it is none the less far more perfect than most of its rivals in India, and it has forced Brahmanism to recognize and to sanction the religious experience of the layman. Indeed, it is only when we set Krishna over against the splendid figure of the Christ that he needs apology, though his Gita avatar has not been able to hold at arms' length the far less pleasing manifestations of the older cults, or of the later Puranas.

Subordinate to the central aim of this work, yet unmistakable, is another great purpose which must be considered more fully later, and which we have already indicated. It is to reveal a way of religion which shall appeal alike to the philosopher and to the layman. Perhaps its most notable achievement is this, that it sets forth an ideal of spiritual life to be attained not by withdrawing from the world, but in the midst even of battle. That Krishna succeeds in doing this is one secret of the amazing vitality of his cult. The colophon at the end of each chapter of the Gita calls it "the philosophy of Brahman and the science of Yoga"; like the Fourth Gospel it has a theoological and also a practical purpose.

Turning now to the Lotus to seek its main object, we find indubitable traces of the influence of the Gita. If it is a Johannine form of Buddhism, it is even more a Vaishnavite form. "I am the Father of the world," says the eternal Sakyamuni, "the self-existent, the healer and protector of all beings. Knowing them to be deluded and astray I teach final Rest, myself unresting." "I am the King of the Law born to bring men to Bliss." "For the sole purpose of exhibiting to all beings the person of the Buddha . . . of opening their eyes to Buddha-knowledge." "Repeatedly am I reborn. . . . It is immeasurable time since I obtained Buddahood: never have I ceased to preach the Dharma." [35]

"The chief aim of the Lotus," says Dr. Anesaki, "consists in revealing the true and eternal entity of Buddhahood in the person of the lord Sakya, who appeared among men for their salvation. In other words the main object is to exalt the historic manifestation of the Buddha, and to identify his person with Cosmic Truth (Dharma)." [36] The practical aim is to lead all to Buddhahood.

The aim of all these books is then to relate the Beloved One to Cosmic Truth, and to set forth the mystery of Divine Love that man may accept it and find salvation. Each has its own view of what these things mean. Their doctrines of the Eternal Order and of Salvation must be considered in detail; [37] and this study will reveal at once the similarities and the difference between these books.

CHAPTER IV

THE ETERNAL ORDER: LOGOS, BRAHMAN, DHARMA

I came forth from the mouth of the Most High . . . and in every people I got me a possession.—ECCLESIASTICUS.

IT is reasonable to believe that in the dim dawn of history some concept of an Eternal Order was common to the Indo-Aryans before they separated. We know that one of their great subdivisions, the Indo-Iranian group, developed a concept Arta, which appears as the Rita of Vedic India and as the Asha of the Zend Avesta. Was it some twin-concept which in another environment gave birth to the Logos of the Greeks? It is possible; yet we must remember that the Chinese, who come from a separate stock, evolved the closely parallel concept of Tao. In all alike there is a blending of early philosophy with magic and mysticism. Beginning, perhaps, in some word of ritual, in sun or fire-worship, they were conceived as having magic potency, and gradually related to the indwelling power and order of the universe. Something of this development we find in the Brahmanas; but we are not on firm historic ground until we come to the sixth century B.C. and find Sakyamuni redefining Brahman, and Heraclitus making Logos a new category for the Greeks.[1]

i. LOGOS

Dr. James Adam interprets the fragments which remain of this great thinker to mean that God is one, that He is identical from one point of view with the Logos and from another with Fire, that He is the unity in which all opposites are reconciled.[2] "Having hearkened not unto me, but

unto the Logos," says the first fragment, "it is wise to confess that all things are one"; and the second says, "All things come to pass through the Logos: it is always true." This Logos, says Heraclitus, has always been in the world, but the world has not known it. He seems to stand between the Greek and the Oriental world, with one hand held out to the Brahman of the Indian and the Asha of the Persian, and the other to the Wisdom of the Hebrews. As a reconciler, all unconscious it may be of these great concepts, he is a forerunner of the Fourth Evangelist and a spokesman of the Logos Himself, or as he would say, Itself. "From all come one and from one come all," he says, and it might be a seer of the Upanishads speaking; "the hidden harmony is better than the visible," and it might be Plato or St. Paul; "the Divine Thought steers all things: to know it is Wisdom," [3] and it might be Cleanthes the Stoic, or Wisdom Literature. "Regarded as the Logos," says Dr. Adam, "God is the omnipresent wisdom by which all things are steered; regarded in his physical or material aspect, that is to say as Fire, he is the substance which creates, sustains, and even perhaps reabsorbs into himself the world, and in both of these aspects at once he is ever-changing and yet forever changeless unity, in which all multiplicity inheres." [4]

Did Heraclitus know contemporary Indian thought, of the type which survives in the Sankhya and in the Logos of Sakyamuni? Did the Evangelist learn at Ephesus the thought of Heraclitus? No certain answer can be given to either question, until perhaps from some rubbish heap of the past a clue comes into the hands of scholars. But whether direct contact is proven or not, we may say that these ideas were in the air at Ephesus when the Fourth Gospel was written. Many have sought to trace their history down through Plato and the Stoics to Philo and the Evangelist. Here we can note only a few points. First it is important to remember that the great and critical mind of Heraclitus was chiefly concerned with the rhythm of nature, a movement which is ceaseless yet orderly, and

which tells of a Logos or Reason behind the seeming flux; and it is for this conviction and for his own orderly moral life that Justin Martyr numbers Heraclitus with Socrates as a Christian "who lived with the Logos." Yet this is true in a very imperfect sense; for Heraclitus was something of a pantheist, and so far as we know, at any rate, did not conceive of divine transcendence; and his doctrine of the Reason inhering in all things was semi-materialistic, as we see from his concept of it as fire. Moreover he falls more than once into the quagmire of the pantheist, teaching that "good and ill are one." [5]

Anaxagoras, who was a boy when Heraclitus died, brought philosophy to Athens—perhaps at the invitation of Pericles. He was banished at the instigation of its religious leaders for teaching that the sun was a red-hot mass of stone "which puts brightness into the moon." It is not only Christians who have persecuted their scientific heretics. But what concerns us here is the central concept of Anaxagoras—Nous, "Mind infinite and self-directing, alone, mingled with nothing." It is "the purest and the most tenuous of things"—a phrase which has been understood by some as materialistic, but which is in fact most probably an attempt to get away from materialism. "It has all knowledge and supreme strength; yea, it has power over all living things great and small. Nous it was which set all things revolving in the beginning." [6]

Anaxagoras then developed the concept of an eternal mind, and is regarded both by Plato and Aristotle as a great landmark in Greek philosophy. He introduced into it an almost theistic as well as a scientific note; for the Nous like the Tao is self-moving and autonomous; and Dr. Adam goes so far as to say "we are fully justified in maintaining . . . that Anaxagoras is the founder of theism in the Western world." [7]

Anaxagoras, again, seems to anticipate Plato in his saying, "What appears is a vision of the unseen," and here like Plato he is akin to the Pauline and Johannine theology. That they owe much to Plato is evident, though

he did not develop the Logos doctrine. He did however emphasize the theistic note of his teacher Socrates, who believed himself to be a divinely appointed and divinely guided servant of God in Athens; he was indeed a physician of the soul whom Justin Martyr mentions with Heraclitus as a companion of the Logos, and whom Dr. Adam justly calls "a prophet of the new evangel." [8]

For Plato the world itself is "an image of its Maker," a copy of the real and eternal, "an only-begotten child of God," who transcends it altogether. His theology as developed in the *Timaeus* is of great importance; the Creator is transcendent, but there is also an immanent World-Soul, which recalls not only the Logos of Heraclitus, but also the "Wisdom residing in the universe" of Socrates, and partakes of both the ideal and the material world. This distinction introduced by Plato into the Being of the Godhead prepared the way for the theology of Philo, and also greatly influenced the Stoics. Fire is for them the all-pervading, and it is itself pervaded by the Logos which is now single, now composed of countless logoi spermatikoi, seed-potencies or germs of future individuals. These Philo identified with the Ideas of Plato: and he is no less a link between Plato and the Stoics than between Greek and Hebrew thought.

To Philo belongs the credit of having wedded the Logos of the Greeks to the Memra, or Wisdom, of the Hebrews, and of having the religious genius to see that the Hebrew concept waas the more vital and significant. Steeped in Stoicism and Platonism, he is yet loyal to Judaism. And it is this which accounts for his inconsistencies. "There was no escape from the dilemma, that if the Logos is divine, he is second God; and if not, then God acts for himself after all. Philo was too good a Jew to get out of it by making the Logos a secondary God . . .; so he faces both ways, covers his confusion with a cloud of words, and leaves the question unsettled." [9] Yet we remember that Philo sought to do, and we are grateful. "It was he, the Jew, looking for world-salvation through his race, who in a

hundred passages strengthened and clarified the idea of the Logos." [10] By blending it with the Wisdom of the Hebrews, he freed this concept in large measure from the intellectualism of the Greeks, and of course laid himself open to the charge of inconsistency. He attempted the impossible; and so hesitates between a personal and an impersonal Absolute. The Supreme God is for him, as for the Upanishads, unnamable and inconceivable; He is the only reality, for all else is subject to conditions of time and space, and so has only apparent existence. Nevertheless God is the mind of all things; and Hebrew religion here takes a further step toward the truth of divine immanence. That step itself Philo seemed unable to take; his doctrine of intermediaries is an attempt to do justice at once to the transcendence of God and to His activity in the universe. He is, as we saw above, even more remarkable as forging a link between the thought of the Stoics and of Plato. And having done this, he identified the Platonic Logoi with the Memra of the Wisdom Literature. Here he comes near to combining the divine transcendence with the divine immanence. This is the eternal problem of theology, and it is not to be wondered at that Philo does not wholly solve it. The Evangelist himself can hardly be said to do so. That he is indebted to Philo is established beyond question. "Almost every verse in the Prologue might be paralleled from Philo," says Dean Inge.[11] The Logos is indeed called in the writings of Philo "first-begotten Son of God," "light of the world," "fountain of Wisdom," "orderer and disposer of all things," and though Philo could not allow himself to conceive the Logos as personal, here were forms ready to the hand of the Evangelist; and into these he put the new life of the Gospel. It remains true however that the Logos doctrine belongs, like Brahman, to the world of speculation, and that the Evangelist was a Jew for whom the will was more important than the intellect, and who never ceases to refer his theological thought to the historic manifestation of God in Christ. Side by side therefore in his Gospel go two streams of thought, now

seeming to blend, now separating; and it is this double stream which accounts for many seeming inconsistencies. His religious experience of Christ as Lifegiver and Savior is one stream; the other is his conception of Him under the form of Logos. In the Prologue indeed these are brought together in the sublime words:

> The Logos became flesh, and dwelt in our midst,
> Full of graciousness and reality;
> Out of his abundance we have all received,
> Gift after gift of love.

Who cannot see that so identified with the incarnate Christ the Logos gains new and wonderful reality and value? Yet for the most part the two concepts do not fully blend, and are even in occasional opposition. Moreover it is not at once clear in what sense the Evangelist uses Logos. To a Platonist it would mean a link between God transcendent and the world; to a Stoic the immanent Reason; and to others less philosophic its meaning would be much less articulate.[12] To the early Church it probably carried with it ideas more Hebrew than Greek; the whole concept of Memra, "divine Reason," was familiar to all who knew the Old Testament and the Wisdom Literature, and when we examine the Christology of the later Pauline epistles and note their great influence on the Evangelist, and study his own doctrine of Christ and God, it becomes clear that the Logos meant to the early Church the preëxistent Son of God, one with God and therefore transcendent, yet incarnate among men and in a mystic sense immanent in His own. He alone is mediator between God and the world. He who was with God has now come forth, as thought expresses itself in word.

The Gospel in short is more concerned with setting forth this Divine Word as tabernacling among men and becoming their Savior and Lord than with any metaphysical concept. It is rooted in Hebrew poetry and Christian experience rather than in Greek philosophy; yet to this it holds out a friendly hand. Besides the bread of Hebrew religion there

are here "a few small fishes" of Greek philosophy, and the Evangelist pays his respect to the Greek world.

Here was a great new fact for which Hebrew prophet and apocalyptist, Greek philosopher, Stoic moralist, and the pagan masses had alike waited, and waiting had seemed at a halt. How great and creative a fact it was becomes clear as we watch the mind of St. Paul wrestling with it, and calling in Hebrew and Platonic and Stoic thought to his help; or the Fourth Evangelist letting it loose to absorb what it would from the environment of the Hebrew and Hellenistic world. In them the long history of the Memra-Logos doctrine comes to fruition; into the mold of Greek thought the rich content of Hebrew religion at its noblest is poured. In the Johannine Christ we see the fulfillment of the long search of these two brilliant peoples. To enter into that fellowship even India need not be ashamed. She too has had a long and wonderful preparation.

ii. Brahman

Her great concept, Brahman, has also had a long history, and its synonyms reveal something alike of its origin and its final significance. In the Rig Veda the god Brahmanaspati is Lord of prayer and of ritual. He is connected with fire-worship and seems to be also thought of as Vacaspati, "Lord of speech," Vac, "word," may perhaps be a synonym of Brahman. If so, then early India and early Greece agree in accepting from their common ancestral stock these two great aspects of the Divine Activity. In the Brahmanas, which are priestly books, sacrifice is regarded as the effective cause of the universe, and Brahman becomes therefore the Creative Cause which "called the gods into being," than which "nothing is higher or more ancient." [13] It is Brahman, the mystic word of sacrifice, or mantra, which makes the world go round; and the priests, whose secret it is, are gods.

But India, like Israel, produced prophetic souls and thinkers to protest against this insolence of the priests. The seers of the Upanishads, maintaining the name and the

idea of the One, who in the beginning created all, freed it from ritualism and priestly claims, sometimes poked fun at the priests,[14] insisted that there is but one Reality, and identified It with Atman, life-breath or spirit. "Of Him, the incorporeal, supreme Brahman, the gods are but embodiments. . . . Brahman indeed is all, and a man may worship or neglect His embodiments." [15] "Brahman indeed is that great Atman." [16] This great Cosmic Power could no longer be identified with any ritual or sacrifice; the self is his true nature. Atman, which in the last book of the Rig Veda means "breath or life," came to mean in the Upanishads "self" or "soul"; it is the subjective aspect of the objective Brahman: "He who is Brahman in man (*i.e.* man's spirit) and he who is Brahman in the sun (*i.e.* cosmic energy) are one." [17] "Thus the Vedic prayer-Brahman (Brahmanaspati) has become thought-Brahman. The change is significant; for the tendency of the Upanishads is to oppose intellect to ritualistic religion." [18] It is a change from a more physical to a more spiritual phase of religious development. Nature must be read in the light of man, not man in the light of nature. She must be obeyed, but she must also be conquered. That is our modern way of expressing a truth which these ancient seers are feeling after when they declare that the great Reality is Atman.

Here indeed Upanishadic thought comes very near to that of the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel; the Logos doctrine finding its fulfillment in the Incarnate Christ is a doctrine of divine immanence, of the creative power of God which is in all things, and which is the Light that lights all men. It is Light spiritual rather than physical. This is what the best Indian thought means by Atman; and it is so conceived in some passages of the Gita: to identify this Absolute with the personal Krishna is the central purpose of the book. But side by side with this are extraordinary views which are hardly reconciled with it. This criticism seems unfair to Indian writers, who find in the Gita expressions of religious experience and of philosophic thought, both of which contain profound truths.

They do not even rebel at the setting side by side of the Sankhya view of the purusha, or eternal immaterial spirits, with the Vedanta monism; and indeed all who face this problem of reconciling a universe of free wills with the demands of philosophy for a unity underlying them have to meet the same criticism. Perhaps it is in emphasizing the advaitism rather than the monism of the Vedanta that a reconciliation may be found, and this is the Johannine reconciliation. Men who are free spirits become one with God and with one another in a dynamic fellowship of unified wills, which is more profound than any unity of substance. In some theistic passages the Gita seems to speak of a personal experience of a Savior: "Whoso worships Me with love I love. . . . He is in Me, and I in him. . . . Let all be done as unto Me." [19]

But there are also many passages of pantheistic and monistic character, and others, which are interpreted atheistically.

The Gita is India's crowning attempt in her long search, expressed in the great words:

> From the unreal lead me to the Real,
> From darkness to Light,
> From death to Deathlessness.[20]

From the Gita itself we can almost formulate the noblest of the Upanishad doctrines of this sole Reality, which is Light and Immortality; but a selection from these wonderful intuitive utterances of ancient Indian seers is needed to make it clear what the Gita in its present form claims for Krishna, and what are the affinities and differences between this doctrine and that of the Logos. And in making such a selection we must keep in mind three important facts:

(1) That side by side with these noble passages there are, especially in the older pre-Gita Upanishads, some crudely anthropomorphic speculations.

(2) That many of the noblest passages are of late date; they may indeed be echoes in the Upanishads of Buddhism,

or of Bhagavata Hinduism. The Svetasvatara Upanishad [21] is for example a kind of Saivite Gita in which Rudra-Siva, a personal deity, emerges from a background of monistic philosophy, and demands bhakti from personal worshipers; and then as if to save the face of the monist, declares the world to be maya, "unreality," "illusion." The Isa Upanishad in a similar way introduces us to Isa or Isvara, the personal god of the Yoga, whose relation to the world is one of grace, and who is not Creator but Helper.

(3) Halfway between the impersonal Absolute and these personifications stands another concept, that of the lower Brahman, a concession to those who are incapable of rising to the doctrine of the Unknowable and Unmanifested. He is conceived as Creator of the real world, in which he dwells as immanent principle until it returns to its source.

Brahman, in fact, like Logos, is used in different senses. In the Brahmanas it means something closely akin to the Logos of Heraclitus—the very substance of the world; yet it is identified with a spell of mystic potency, to know which is to have power.

The seers of the Upanishads are face to face with the problems of immanence and transcendence, and of mediating philosophic truth both to sage and to devotee. They are accordingly at one time theist, at another pantheist, at another pure idealist, at another almost atheist. The Gita has affinities with all these positions; yet, as we have seen, it is accepted as orthodox by the Vedantist, and Krishna and Isvara are alike subordinated to the impersonal Absolute.

The Upanishads develop the somewhat materialistic concepts of the Rig Veda in its later pantheistic tendency: "There is one Reality called by many names." This pantheism exhausts itself in many passages of the Upanishads, such as the following: "As threads from a spider, as sparks from a fire, so from this Atman come forth all vital forces, all worlds, all gods, all beings. Its mystic name

(Upanishad) is Real of the real." [22] Another famous passage might come from the Tao-te-King:

> It moves; it moves not.
> It is far, and again it is near.
> It is within all things, and yet without.[23]

Elsewhere Brahman is described as being and non-being,[24] as Neti or ineffable,[25] imperishable, great, beginningless and endless,[26] as the great glory of whom there is no likeness,[27] as higher than understanding, and above the unknown,[28] as He on whom earth and sky, and life and mind, are based.[29]

"What is it," asks Professor R. E. Hume, "what is it . . . that has now been reached? On the one hand an illusory world, and on the other an unknowable reality. Honestly and earnestly had the thinkers of the Upanishads sought to find the true nature of this world of experience, and of the beyond which constantly lured them on, but it had proved to be an *ignis fatuus*. Yet they did not give up in the despair of agnosticism, or in the disappointment of failure.[30]

Pantheism having failed, the next step is a leap indeed. Not only is Brahman all, but "I am Brahman." [31] It was not enough to say "This whole world is Brahman," nor even "Brahman is verily that great Atman," [32] for there remains the dualism of self and not self, and the philosopher is not content to leave the devotee to the enjoyment of his communion with another. He must be awakened to the great and final truth that he is himself Atman and that there is nought else. "Tat tvam asi," [33] "Thou art That," is the essence of the Vedanta; it is the corollary of its monism: "Etad vai Tat," [34] "This (Universe) is That."

But India would a-worshiping go, whether the monist would let her or no. With a sound instinct the masses refused this last sublime untruth! And so stubborn was their refusal that it had to be accepted and somehow brought into line. The great Ramanuja is followed by multitudes in his theistic reading of the Upanishads. In our era we have

seen men like Ram Mohun Roy remaining Hindu, and yet reading them as theistic; and Rabindranath Tagore, brought up to this interpretation, finds in them the source of his own mystic monotheism, and reminds us that "there cannot be worship unless we admit duality, and yet there cannot be devotion unless we fix our gaze on One." [35]

That the Vedantic editor of the Gita did not succeed in reducing this dilemma has been a blessing to India. For absolute monism leaves room neither for worship nor for moral freedom. This was Sakyamuni's criticism of the thinkers of Brahmanism, and if he did not adequately meet man's need to worship he did nobly challenge his moral nature. But he did more than this, and his Dharma is not only a way of conduct; it has in it the germ of a true theism, for it maintains that the world is morally ordered, that human life is a reality, and that the metaphysical monism of the Upanishads is a delusion. His attack is aimed at egoism and so rejects the ego, even in its sublimest form. For Brahman he substitutes Dharma; for metaphysical unity moral unison.

iii. Dharma and Dharmakaya

"He who sees the Dharma sees me," says the historic Sakayamuni in the Itivuttaka, or Logia, of early Buddhism. This saying might mean several things to an Indian audience who heard it. Sakayamuni meant it to say something quite revolutionary. Like Jesus he had to pour new wine into old bottles, to remint a coinage which had already seen long service.

The Sanskrit word Dharma means many things. Ethymologically it means that which supports (dhar), but it must always be translated according to the context. It has affinities with the Chinese Tao, and is as difficult to translate. The following statement is perhaps sufficiently full for our purpose. In Vedic India a naïve nature-worship was passing through the crucible of reflective thought. There was emerging the concept of a natural order. The

regularity of nature seemed to imply a Rita, or causal nexus, independent of the capricious gods, perhaps their master. For a brief moment the great Varuna appears as its embodiment and guardain, ruler of the moral as of the natural order: "There is no hymn to Varuna which does not contain a prayer for forgiveness," says Dr. Macdonell. The Rig Veda in fact carries further the Indo-Iranian doctrine of Arta; and the Upanishads develop it into a philosophic concept. Like the Hebrew Psalmist and Kant, these early thinkers bowed before the sublime spectacle of the stars in their courses, and the moral law with its sovereign commands. "There is nothing higher than the Dharma," says the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad.[36] For the Upanishads, in fact, "that which is Dharma is truth"; and the term Dharma came to mean whatever is right and normative, till in the Mahabharata we find such things as "the root of the people is Dharma . . ., without Dharma they perish." [37] So it came to mean the way or rule in Hindu society; the Dharma of Hinduism to-day is that which makes it Hinduism—the way of society as regulated by the sacred writings. Sakyamuni takes this concept and puts new meaning into it; it means for him Nature, Norm, or Law, and is always moralized. This great teacher saw with the eye of an Ezekiel that the individual is responsible, and redefined Dharma. It means his teaching based on his great discovery of a Norm or Order, which is nothing less than the causal nexus of the universe. Thus the enduring order of Hindu society which we see exemplified in the Gita's doctrine as to caste duties means for this great heretic something far grander and more universal—Reality (Satya) itself. It becomes the Buddhist equivalent of Brahman. It is as seer of Reality that he is Buddha, that he has "become truth," and is therefore "Lord of Dharma." [38] His disciples, too, in following him see truth, know Reality, become "eyes of the world" (lokassa cakhu), "seers of the Dharma" (dhammadaso); they are "heirs," and "sons of the Dharma," or of Cosmic Truth. While he moved amongst them as their great Elder Brother these younger brothers

and sisters did not perhaps separate him from his teaching; but they came, after he left them, to regard him as in a special sense the embodiment of Dharma.

The word Dharmakaya, "Body of Truth," occurs in several passages of the Pali Canon. The Teacher's physical or material body is to be distinguished from his true or spiritual body, his "body of truth." With the Fourth Evangelist these early thinkers would maintain that the "flesh profits nothing," that "it is the spirit which avails," even while they clung, like the Evangelist, to the fact of the historic embodiment. As in Asia Minor so in India there arose almost inevitably different interpretations of such teachings. Some, notably the Mahasanghika school, were docetists, who held that the material body of the Buddha was not real at all; he was Lokuttara, a "supernatural apparition," untouched by human passions. Others, while they held to his historic reality, went on to develop the doctrine of Dharmakaya, until it came to mean at once the metaphysical law of the universe, and the religious and moral doctrine which he taught and which expressed its true meaning. And this doctrine was further developed by stages which we can trace into a Trikaya doctrine, or doctrine of the Three Bodies—Dharmakaya or absolute reality, Nirmanakaya or accommodated body historically manifested, and Sambhogakaya, transfigured or glorified "body of enjoyment," seen and enjoyed by the saints, or Bodhisattvas.

This stage of Buddhology is not fully worked out in the Lotus, which was no doubt influenced here too by the Gita. As Professor Poussin points out, "The relation between Brahman and transfigured Krishna is not unlike the relation between 'dharmakaya' and 'sambhogakaya.' And again, the third body (nirmanakaya) of Buddha . . . has something in common with the human . . . form of Krishna." [39] Who then is the Sakyamuni of the Lotus? He is the immaterial yet visible embodiment of the eternal and cosmic Dharmakaya, seen by man as Nirmanakaya or accommodated body; for he accommodates himself to

human limitations. It is also suggested that he is known by Bodhisattvas to be in reality the Sambhogakaya, seated in bliss on the Eternal Vulture Peak until he pass, or seem to pass, into his final Nirvana. This he will leave to project himself again upon the human stage, another Krishna, as need arises.

To sum up, we may say that the eternal Dharma or Dharmakaya is, as the Vajracchedika Sutra says, "inscrutable in its real nature." "They who saw me by form, they who heard me by sound, saw me not . . . for they followed a false quest. The Buddha is seen from the Dharma: the Lords have a law-body (Dharmakaya)."[40] In other words, the Dharmakaya is a Buddhist version of Brahman; but into it is read the reality of Buddhist religious experience. Supreme amongst its avatars for most Buddhists is the Sakyamuni of the Lotus; he is devatideva, "God among the gods."

The eternal Brahman is inscrutable, neither being nor non-being, yet known to Vaishnavaism in its avatars, supreme among them being Krishna, who is also devatideva. "The unmanifest is hard for mortals to attain," says the Gita; "In me thou shalt attain Life."

"The Father no man hath seen at any time," says the Christ of the Fourth Gospel; yet "he who hath seen me hath seen the Father." For the Logos "which lights all men" is "unfolded" or "made manifest" in the Only Son.

All three books then claim that the invisible and unmanifested has now been revealed, that the three great Teachers are not so much messengers of the Eternal as the Eternal dwelling among men. All are attempts to reconcile Divine Immanence and Divine Transcendence by the doctrine of incarnation. Hebrew prophecy, having told men of a God who is like a loving father, could do no more. Hebrew religion was in fact at a standstill, or degenerated into apocalypticism, until "the Word became flesh." So, too, "the later Greek philosophy had come to a stop in its theology because it could not reconcile God's transcendence with his

activity in the world." [41] It looked wistfully for a worthy incarnation of the Divine.

Brahmanism, having soared to the great intuition of the Brahman-atman, could do no more, until it took the great step of claiming Vasuseva-Krishna as Brahman revealed in time. And while the historic Sakyamuni told men of an order of the world making for righteousness, the Lotus makes the plunge of faith, and says he *is* the Dharmakaya in human form. All three books are seeking to rationalize religious experience. The Fourth Gospel is clearly nearest to historic fact in its interpretation of what the Synoptic Gospels leave unexplained. The Lotus is most revolutionary; for Sakyamuni, whatever else we may say of him, avoided metaphysics, and sought to concentrate man's attention upon ethics and mystical experience. The Lotus is in fact regarded as heresy by orthodox Buddhists in Ceylon Siam, and Burma. But all Christians accept the Fourth Gospel; and its appendix is a kind of imprimatur of the early Church. All Hindus again accept the Gita, though they differ profoundly as to its interpretation.

Of the three writers it is quite evident that the Evangelist alone is sincerely interested in history. The Sakyamuni of the Lotus is never a real historic figure, and the Krishna of the Gita is little less unreal. The Indian authors seek in fact to take the thoughts of their readers away from history to ideal principles. The Evangelist, while he too seeks to free his central figure from local limitations, is intensely interested in details of time and place. In insisting that he is a theologian we must never forget that he writes theology in the form of history, or rather of historic drama.

When this is said, however, it remains true that the Lotus and the Fourth Gospel are intended to combat docetic views, and that all three books insist that the religious experience which they embody corresponds to objective reality. The Fourth Gospel had to face gnostics as well as docetists, and also materialists; the Gita had to subdue the rationalism of the Sankhya and the agnosticism of the Upanishads; the

Lotus had its eye on the atheistic schoolmen of the Hinayana, who denied where their Master had ignored, as well as on docetists, who sought to explain away his historic manifestation. Why is the hero of the Fourth Gospel so much more clearly a historic character than the heroes of the Gita and the Lotus? Is not the answer in part that the historic Jesus had made possible a new life in a more real sense than Sakyamuni or Vasudeva? The Evangelist is more poignantly conscious of His personality, and its cosmic significance, because he has had a more vivid experience. But he is also a Jew, to whom history means much; and they are Indians, to whom principles are far more important. They are in love with an ideal, he with a person. Moreover, personality is alike for the Buddhist and the Hindu unreal and illusory. It is something to be apologized for, to be explained away by the doctrines of maya or lila; to be shed as the goal is realized.

The Gospel, then, glows with a bhakti more real than that of the other books. The author is less consciously theological than the authors of the Gita, less consciously allegorical than the authors of the Lotus. He is a lover, meditating aloud after prolonged reflection upon tremendous experience. Can that be said in at all the same sense of the others? Surely not. It is difficult, for example, to imagine a rapt seer so skillfully steering his way through the shoals and rapids of the Sankhya-Yoga sections of the Gita, or the lover of a historic Lord so luxuriating in the apocalyptic visions of the Lotus. It is true that the Fourth Gospel is also a work of very careful thought and of consummate art; but the whole book suggests spiritual genius caught up to a higher plane, and working with method and system which have been transcended and subordinated to the religious life. Long years no doubt went to the marshaling of his material and the perfecting of his technique; and when he writes it is with a pen which never falters as the great drama unfolds itself; and it is a drama much more arresting and with much more real development

than that of the other books, because it keeps closer to the facts, alike of history and of experience. It is easy to trace the work of many hands in the Lotus, and not difficult to find it in the Gita; but with the exception of a few brief passages such as the concluding chapter the Fourth Gospel is an organic unity.

CHAPTER V

THE ARCHITECTURE AND ANALYSIS OF THE BOOKS

i

We have likened these books to great religious buildings, and without unduly pressing this point, we may carry it a little further before attempting an exact analysis. This kind of study is necessary to an understanding of a great work of art, even if it is somewhat tedious. It may be undertaken, however, with the thought constantly in our minds that we shall be the more reverent for having undergone the discipline.

From the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel, chapter i. 1-18, it is hard to pass on, so splendid is this noble porch of mingled Greek and Hebrew form, with its great threefold doorway. More than one great scholar has begun a course of lectures on the Fourth Gospel, and hardly got beyond its portals. The worshiper, however, will pass on, prepared for the great drama and the splendid symbols of the long section we have likened to the nave, chapters i. 19-xii. Here he will meet with Jew and Samaritan, Greek inquirer and priestly opponent, and find in their midst the Christ, at once their Friend and their Judge. His claims to be Light and Life are set forth here as in two great windows depicting the healing of the man born blind and the raising of Lazarus. And these signs or symbolic acts are the occason for the great words, "I am the Light of the world," and, "I am the Resurrection and the Life."

Thus we are prepared to pass into what may be called the Holy Place of the Temple, chapters xiii.-xvii. Here we find the Christ alone with His disciples. In a solemn silence we see him in the great sacrament of service, which the Church

of our time accepts as equally binding with the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Like solemn music are His discourse of the Vine and its branches, His promise of the Comforter, His Command of Love, His great high-priestly prayer. This is the Holy Place of Love. So we are led on to the great Altar where we see His Passion and Resurrection (xviii.-xx.) Darkness seems to triumph, but Light overcomes it. It is the Holy of Holies, and all is silence, broken only at intervals by words like these: "It is finished," "Feed my sheep." As we look back from the Altar we see that the whole building is based on the mystic numbers three and seven: there are the threefold door, the three main divisions, the three words from the Cross, the three utterances of the Risen Lord; there are seven miracles, seven great discourses, seven wondrous claims. And the worshipers may well respond with a solemn threefold Amen. How simple and sublime is the symbolism of the Eucharistic Meal, the central act of devotion in this great shrine. Though its institution is not recorded in the Gospel it is implied in the sacramental teaching of chapter vi. and in the breaking of the bread in chapter xxi.

We may see in the First Epistle of St. John a kind of Lady-Chapel, in which after guiding us through the great Church, the priest-architect takes us aside and gives us a solemn charge that we go out filled with the spirit of the Word of Life, the Lord of Love, and inspired by His love to love one another.

Though the Church of this first century A.D. is not known to have had buildings which can be described as basilicas, we must conceive it as already busy with the problem of building them. In the missionary work of the Church it is a problem which begins to press for solution as soon as large congregations have to be housed. At first missionaries like St. Paul used the synagogues, but as Jewish opposition soon made this impossible, and as persecution by the Romans began, they had to find places of their own where they could worship unmolested. So the basilica came into being.

There is behind the history of Christian architecture the

principle well expressed by a great living architect: "That in life, as we know it, material and spiritual are inseparable, that their just balance is the true end of man in this phase of existence, and that therefore sacramentalism is of the essence of religion and as well the law of life." [1] We may be sure that the Church which embodied this principle in her worship of the Word made flesh began to embody it also in her architecture, until it culminates in the pure light and soaring grandeur of the great Gothic cathedrals. Here the very stone speaks of the things of the spirit.

These things we miss in a Hindu shrine. The first impression we get is that of complexity, of shadowy depths and caves of obscurity, of strange images half revealed within its gloom. And yet as our eyes grow accustomed to it we become conscious here too of a certain unity of plan and symbolism. These we must study as any other art must be studied, if we are to understand them. We shall find much to puzzle, much to attract, and something also to repel. The art forms as well as the thought which they embody are strange to us, and to overcome this sense of strangeness is often a long process.

If this is true, even of early shrines of Vishnu, it is truer still of the later temples such as that at Kanjivaram. Here there is an elaborate symbolism which in the silence of an Indian noontide suggests a brooding Presence, and this first impression is borne out as we enter the great courtyard. Its porches are pools of coolness and gloom in the blazing sunlight, and here may be seen Brahmins and peasants, devotees and sceptics, polytheists and monists, all alike sheltering within this citadel of the faith.

Such is the Gita. If its three books may be likened, as we have seen, to three porticoes, each containing six shrines or porches, it is true also that within these we shall find figures and scenes which suggest the all-comprehensiveness of Indian religion. Here on the one hand is the Krishna of the devotee, revealed as eternal and as the ever-ready helper of mankind. Here on the other hand is the grotesque image of the all-powerful and ferocious Destroyer of ancient

Indian mythology, into whose maw all things return. In the ninth book or porch is revealed the "royal mystery," that his devotees are never lost, and that the most sinful and lowly may turn to him. Side by side with this gracious teaching we shall meet with the somewhat arid philosophy of the Sankhya, and again with the monism of the Vedanta, which unless we are Hindus will seem to us to conflict alike with the comfortable words of the personal Krishna, and with his call to moral endeavor. Yet it may be that the Hindu is right in claiming that here is a grand reconciliation of various moods of the soul. Certainly the ways of action, intuition, and devotion are reasonably reconciled, and men will always choose the shrine in which they prefer to linger.

The monistic polytheism of India is then embodied in great Hindu architecture, and in this great classic of Indian literature; and we begin to understand how it is that a Sankara among philosophers, a Gandhi among social reformers, and even a brigand like Sivaji can draw their chief inspiration from this source.

The Lotus is easier for the Western mind to appreciate. Everyone, except the very intolerant or the very ignorant, enjoys a visit to a great Buddhist temple in China or Japan, with its lotus ponds, its bell towers, its spacious courtyards, and its lovely setting among trees or mountains. It is easy to see which is the main building, and to recognize the great Buddha who sits upon the main altar. There is nothing here to repel, and nothing of gloom or of mystery. All the figures are attractive reflexes of Sakyamuni, whether it is Yakushi the healing Buddha, or "our Lady of Compassion," Kwanyin, or Ti-tsang, the strong champion of the children. The worship too, with its chanting and incense, stirs in us memories of some great Gothic church, and we may pause in respect and gratitude before the lotus throne of Sakyamuni.

So in the Lotus, we are in serene light, and meet compassionate and noble figures, Buddhas and crowding Bodhisattvas, only to return to the Founder himself.

SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

ii

It is generally agreed that the Fourth Gospel falls naturally into three parts, with a Prologue and an Epilogue, as follows:

Prologue: Chapter i. 1-18.

I. *Chapters i to xii.* The Christ-Logos and the World (or Judgment).

II. *Chapters xiii. to xvii.* The Christ and the Disciples (or Glorification).

III. *Chapters xviii to xx.* The Passion and Resurrection (or Vindication).

Appendix. Chapter xxi.

Epilogue. First Epistle of St. John.

A. i. 1-5 — I. Christ and the World

Theological statement of the Logos as Source of Light and Life:

Prologue

i. 6-18 — Historico-theological statement: the Baptist's witness: "The Logos became flesh . . . full of grace and Reality."

"No one has seen God, but God has been revealed by the Divine Being, the Only Son."

B. i. 19-iv. 54. — Growth of Faith and of Opposition

I. Growth of Faith

Selected Witnesses

1. *John's witness:* "The Lamb of God who is to remove the sin of the world" (i. 27, 37). "I testify that He is the Son of God" (i. 34).
2. *Andrew's witness:* "We have found the Messiah" (i. 47).
3. *Philip's witness:* "We have found Him of whom Moses wrote" (i. 45).
4. *Nathaniel's witness:* "Thou art the Son of God, the King of Israel" (i. 49).

Selected Signs Partly Allegorical

1. *The marriage at Cana* (ii. 1-11); "His disciples believed" (ii. 11).
2. *The cleansing of the Temple* (ii. 13-22); "Many believed as they saw the signs" (ii. 24).

Selected Interviews

"Well did he know what was in human nature" (ii. 54).

This is illustrated by:

1. *The talk with Nicodemus (or Baptism):*
"What is born of the flesh is flesh: what is born of the spirit is spirit" (iii. 1-15).
"God so loved the world that He gave His only Son, that every one who believes in Him may have eternal life" (iii. 16).
"He who believes in the Son has eternal life; but he who disobeys the Son shall not see life" (iii. 36).
2. *The talk with the woman of Samaria* (iv. 1-42).
"God is spirit, and His worshipers must worship in spirit and reality" (iv. 24).
"I am the Messiah" (iv. 26).
3. *Jesus and the Galileans* (iv. 45).

More Selected Signs

"The healing of the official's son" (iv. 43-54).
The healing of the paralytic at Bethesda" (v. 2-16).

II. Growth of Opposition (x. xi).

Selected Discourses

"This was why the Jews persecuted Jesus, because He did things like this on the Sabbath" (v. 27).
Jesus replies with a discourse on His divinity: "As my Father has continued working to this hour so I work" (v. 18).
"Whosoever chooses to do His will shall understand whether my doctrine comes from God" (v. 17).
"Stop judging by appearances: be just" (v. 24).
"My judgment is just because my aim is not my own will but the will of Him who sent me" (v. 30).
The feeding of the multitude who cry: "This really is the prophet" (vi. 1-15).
The walking on the sea: "It is I, be not afraid, (vi. 16-21).
Discourses on the Bread of Life (or Eucharist) (vi. 22-40).
"This is the work of God—to believe in Him whom God has sent" (vi. 29).
"I am the Bread of Life" (vi. 35-48).
"No one is able to come to me unless my Father draw him" (vi. 44).
"My flesh is real food and my blood is real drink" (vi. 56).
"What gives life is spirit, flesh is of no avail at all" (vi. 63).

Many of the Jews are offended, but Peter says: "Lord to whom shall we go—Thou hast the words of eternal life. . . . Thou art the Holy One of God" (vi. 68-9).

Jesus at the Festival of Booths, and His Messianic nature (vii).

"If any one is athirst, let him come to Me and drink" (vii. 37).

The multitude is puzzled, for He is an uneducated man whose origin they know. Is He Messiah for the Greeks? (vii. 31-39).

The Pharisees are yet more enraged.

[*The woman taken in adultery* (viii. 1-12)]

Jesus the Light of the world (viii. 12).

Controversy with the Jews (viii. 22-59).

At His claim to have existed before Abraham the Jews tried to stone Him as they had tried to stone the woman.

Another selected sign to show Jesus as Light: the man born blind is healed (ix. 1-35), and the Jews are again divided about Him.

"For judgment I have come into this world, to make the sightless see and to make the seeing blind" (ix. 39).

Discourse of the True Shepherd: in reply to the challenge "if you are the Christ tell us plainly." The Jews try again to arrest Him (x. 1-39).

A miracle is selected to show Jesus as Life. The raising of Lazarus: "I am the Resurrection and the Life" (xi. 25).

The Pharisees and high priests assemble to discuss what is to be done, and Jesus withdraws to the desert (xi. 47-54).

The anointing of His feet (xii. 1-8).

"Let her keep what she has for the day of my burial."

The triumphant entry into Jerusalem: "The world has gone after Him" (xii. 12-19).

The Greeks Seek Him (xii. 20-26).

The hour has come for the Son of Man to be glorified" (xii. 23).

"I when I am lifted up from the earth will draw all men unto me" (xii. 32).

Thus this first section of the Gospel ends on a note of universality. He is seen throughout as deal-

ing with the Gentile world and revealing alike the universality of His church and its liberalism. We now pass on in part II to the Holy Place, where in intimate and tender communion He meets His disciples.

II. Christ and the Disciples. Glorification

"From the symbolic act of humility and love to the sublime prayer of consecration we are in a region of holy peace and lofty communion, in which we have transcended the limits of the world and time, and have entered upon that Eternal Life which flows forever from the Father upon those who apprehend in faith the Spirit of the Son." [2]

In these addresses to the disciples and this High Priestly prayer emphasis is laid upon:

(1) *the glory of humility* (xiii. 1-30).

(2) *the glory of suffering* (xvii. 2-5, 22).

(3) *the glory of love:* "As the Father has loved Me so I have loved you" (xv. 9).
"As I have loved you you ought to love one another" (xvi. 34).

(4) *the unity of the church:* "That they may all be one" (xvii. 23).

(5) *the life in Christ* (xv. 1-27). "I am the Vine; ye are the branches" (xv. 5).
"I in them and Thou in Me" (xvii. 23).

(6) *the unity of Christ and God:* "He who hath seen Me hath seen the Father" (xiv. 9).
"That they may be one as we are one" (xvii. 32).

(7) *the coming of the Holy Spirit* (xvi. 1-15).
"I will send Him to you" (xvi. 7).
"He will lead you into all truth" (xvi. 13).

(8) *Peace:* "Peace I leave to you, My peace I give to you" (xvi. 27).

III. Passion and Resurrection

i. *Humiliation*

Arrest and trial of Jesus (xviii. to xix. 16).
"My kingdom is not of this world" (xviii. 36).
Crucifixion (xix. 17-42).
"Behold the Man" (xix. 6).
"It is finished" (xix. 30).

ii. *Triumph and Vindication*

Selected scenes of the Resurrection (xx. to xxi. 23).
"I ascend to my Father and yours, to My God and yours" (xx. 17).
"Receive the Holy Spirit" (xx. 22).

"Blessed be those who believe though they have never seen Me" (xx. 29).
"Be a shepherd to my sheep" (xxi. 16-17).

Appendix xxi.

Epilogue The First Epistle of St. John, using the same great categories of Logos, Love, Life, Light, and giving moral counsel and help.

iii

The Bhagavad-gita also consists of three main parts, each containing six chapters. Charles Johnston's suggestion that these main divisions correspond to the pistis, gnosis, sophia of Greek mysticism, or to Aspiration, Illumination, Realization, is, as he indicates,[3] "not to be pushed too far." "Certain it is," he says, "that the beginning of the poem is concerned with the search for light, the middle is dominated by the transfiguration of Krishna, and the close by the practical application to life of the laws and inspirations already reached."

Other commentators, with Madhusudana Sarasvati, hold that the first main section sets forth the way of works (karma-marga), the second that of worship (bhakti-marga), the third that of intuitive knowledge (jñana-marga).

Others again would find the main divisions devoted respectively to the nature of the individual self, the nature of the Divine Self, and their identity as realized by jñana. All these attempts at analysis have something to be said for them, and much to be said against them; for each main division has something to say on each of these great topics. We may however tentatively accept the following scheme:

I. Books I to VI: Arjuna's search; man's nature and duty; karma-marga.
II. Books VII to XII: The transfiguration of Krishna; the nature of the Supreme; bhakti-marga.
III. Books XIII to XVIII: Practical admonitions; jñana-marga.

The complexity of the book may here be indicated by noting that the third main section is colored chiefly by

Sankhya teaching, and seems to belong to a secondary period later than the main Bhagavata nucleus of Books I and II, and yet earlier than the Vedanta passages. It may also be indicated by a brief statement as to its chief interpreters. Its Indian editors from Sankara to Telang are as far from agreeing with one another as its Western critics. Yet most Indian thinkers seem satisfied that it succeeds in reconciling the different systems of thought; and most Western students of it hold not only that it fails to do so, but that it could not hope to succeed. Monism cannot be reconciled with theism, still less with pluralism. Yet the mystic must not be too rigorously rationalized; and for East and West alike the problem remains: theism, monism, and pluralism are all moods of thought which have their permanent appeal, and the devotee has something of the philosopher in him. Or to state it in another way, all of us need a reconciliation between heart, mind, and will.

There is however another problem which engages the Western critic and such Indian thinkers as Sir R. G. Bhandarkar; and this is the first problem to be attacked—that of higher criticism. Here too the many rival theories in the field prove the great complexity of the Gita. Shall we find in it, with L. D. Barnett, a unity in which different streams have mingled; with Berriedale Keith an Upanishad of theistic type like the Svetasvatara but remodeled to Vaishnavite uses; with E. W. Hopkins call it a Krishnaite version of a Vaishnavite poem of the later Upanishadic period; or with Garbe a theistic tract of the Bhagavatas based on the Sankhya-Yoga and edited by an Upanishad editor four centuries later?

Either of two theories seems to me to fit the facts. One is that there are three separate strata:

1. The original Bhagavata poem by a follower of Vasudeva, and dating from as early as the sixth century B.C.

2. The recension of this by an editor influenced by the Sankhya-Yoga:

3. The final recension by a Vedantist.

The second theory is that it may be the work throughout of Bhagavatas who use Vedantic and Sankhyan terms, and like the Evangelist pour into old bottles the new wine of their own religious experience. If this theory be accepted, then the book is an even closer parrel to the Fourth Gospel. It may be analyzed thus:

I. Arjuna's Search: Karma-Marga

Prologue

Book I. The Perplexity of Arjuna

The occasion. Arjuna, shrinking from civil war and fratricide on the field of Kurukshetra, cries: "I long not for victory, nor for domination. Better far to be slain unresisting than to slay" (31, 45).

He here states the old Indian principle of Ahimsa made central by the Jain and Buddhist reform, and revived to-day in almost these words by Gandhi.

Book II. The Two Doctrines

Krishna, disguised as a charioteer, bids him cease this sinful talk, and play the man. He replies that he would rather beg his bread; yet as one who has taken refuge in Krishna he implores instruction. The real enemy Krishna shows him to be false egoism. There is only one Reality: "Know him as indestructible and all-pervading." He then quotes old Upanishadic texts: "Whoso thinks he slays, and whoso thinks that one is slain, these know not the truth. This self is not born, it cannot die" (19-20). It is Arjuna's caste-duty to fight. Let him do so with spirit detached and serene. "Reckoning pleasure and pain alike, gain and loss, victory and defeat, do thou fight on. Thus shalt thou be without sin" (38).

The poem then passes to its main task, the revelation of the Eternal. Krishna reveals the relative value of right action as a way to salvation. It is inferior to Yoga and to the illumination which comes from this union with the Supreme (49). In detachment is Peace (54-72).

["We can see the work gradually growing from the bardic poem to the spiritual scripture." And in doing so the figures "assume a larger and more universal aspect, and the argument of Krishna grows wider in scope, of universal application and eternal import," says Charles Johnston.]

Book III. The Doctrine of the Way of Works, or Karma

"If knowledge is superior to action," asks Arjuna, "why dost thou urge me on to cruel deeds?" The answer is a dissertation on the two schools of Sankhya and Yoga which are reconciled: union through wisdom, as taught by the first, and union through unselfish action, as taught by the second, are not two but one. Revealed at the foundation of the world they are stages of truth. Action devoid of attachment is proper action (e.g. religious and moral duties), and leads to the Supreme. The eternal enemy of the wise is desire. Let this be conquered.

Book IV. The Way of Intuitive Knowledge, or Jñana

The source of Krishna's authority is now revealed. He is the eternal Being who appears from age to age to succor the good and destroy the evil (6-8). This he does in divine detachment (13-15). So let man work (16-27). To do this is to escape rebirth, "to come to Krishna"; even on the battle-field he who knows this is with Krishna. This knowledge is to be sought after by obedience, by faith (33-41) and study of the Scripture. "March on to union: with the sword of Wisdom cut through all doubts" (42).

Book V. The Way of Renunciation or Sannyasa

Arjuna is not satisfied. "Renunciation of actions and their due performance—of these tell me plainly which is the better?" (1.) The answer is that both lead to the Supreme Good; they are complementary. Without renunciation of desire no action can be right; without right action there is no detachment. The Sankhya is right in emphasizing intellect, the Yoga in emphasizing will. "Whoso sees these doctrines as one is wise indeed." Action and insight go together; and the Yoga rightly puts action first. But indifference is needed—peace is within (16-29).

Book VI. The Doctrine of Self-Restraint

Action may cease when the devotee is truly holy and detached. "Atman is atman's friend when Atman ruleth. The self of the calm and passionless is the Supreme Self: it remains the same in heat and cold, in honor and disgrace" (5-7). There follow instructions as to the practice of meditation (10-32). This book emphasizes Yoga, as the fifth book emphasizes Sankhya teaching. But what, asks Arjuna, if this difficult practice fail—what happens at death to him who has neither the merit of good actions, nor the Yoga calm of contemplation?

"Never," says Krishna, "never does a worker of righteousness come to an end. Attaining to the sphere of workers of right (*i.e.* fulfillers of moral and religious duties) and dwelling there long ages, he that is fallen from Yoga is born in the family of the pure and prosperous, or even in that of the wise, well-established in meditation. He there finds that knowledge which he once had, and again strives on to perfection (40-43). "The man of meditation is superior to the man of action and to the man of knowledge. Therefore become a man of meditation, a yogi." So ends the first main division of the Gita with a revelation of man's highest nature. "He sees his soul as one with all beings, and all beings as one with his soul: the Yogi sees Oneness everywhere. Whoso seeth Me in all, and all in Me, him I lose not, nor can he lose Me" (29.30).

So on a clear theistic note ends the first Section; and we are ready for the doctrine of bhakti, and of:

II. The Universal Spirit

Book VII. The Doctrine of Realization or Discernment

Having set forth the stages of illumination, and the nature and duties of man, Krishna proceeds to reveal the true object of devotion: "I am of the universe both origin and end, the life in all creatures . . . the eternal seed of all . . . the wisdom of the wise the strength of the strong" (6.9.10). "That which is the characteristic excellence of a thing is Bhagavan himself" (R. G. Bhandarkar).

The world cannot know the Absolute, whose essence is simple and without attributes; for it is deluded by sin. Sinners do not seek refuge in Him, but the afflicted, seekers after truth, those in need of material benefits and the wise or enlightened, these seek Krishna. Of these the wise is the best (15.16). "I am beloved indeed of the wise and he of me" (17). "The wise man is myself." Devotees of other forms there are and for a time they go to the gods of their devotion; but they are devoid of real understanding and consider the unmanifest as manifest. "Those who know Me . . . abiding in love to Me know Me even in the hour of death" (30).

Book VIII. The Doctrine of the One Supreme Being

Replying to Arjuna's question, "Who is the supreme spirit, the Brahman?" Krishna says, "Let thy heart abide in Me, and so attain to the Allwise, the Eternal, the Supreme Ruler, the Great Spirit supporting all, sun-hued beyond the darkness," *i.e.* the Brahman of the Upanishads (9, 10). For the true Yogi attainment is easy (14) and is the end of Samsara.

Book IX. The Doctrine of the Royal Knowledge and Royal Mystery

This central truth, "easy to practice, exhaustless in result," is now set forth in what is, perhaps, the simplest, the most direct, the most eloquent book in this whole Scripture. Knowing it even Sudras, women, and evil men can worship Krishna and become righteous (30). "My devotee is never lost." "I am the Father of the Universe and the Mother" (*i.e.* as Purusha [consciousness], and Prakrit [nature], of the Sankhya system). "I am the Goal . . . the Refuge and the Friend" (18). The lowliest may approach Krishna (26-34).

Book X. The Doctrine of Heavenly Endowments

The mystery of the Divine Being is further revealed. He transcends the universe. The Divine is both in and greater than the world. "I am the source of all (8). "I am the Self dwelling within" (20). "All this universe with one portion of my Being I uphold" (42). Here the Gita reaches the great truth that a God of Grace must be in his universe, yet cannot be identical with it nor limited to it. He is near to illuminate and to help: "To grant my devotees grace I remain in their hearts, and cast out darkness born of ignorance, by lighting the bright lamp of knowledge" (11).

Book XI. The Doctrine of the Revelation of the One and the Many

Arjuna begs for a vision of the Supreme Being. A transfiguration follows in which Krishna is seen as omnipresent, "with many mouths and eyes . . . with many divine weapons."[4] "O God," cries Arjuna in ecstasy, "in Thy Body I behold all the gods, beings of every kind assembled, all sages and heavenly serpent gods and Brahma upon his Lotus throne" (15). "This concourse enters into Thee . . . and at sight of Thy many arms, and thighs and feet, thy bellies and thy curving tusks they tremble, and I too am afraid" (22-3). "Some are seen rushing to destruction in thy maws and are caught and crushed between thy tusks. Declare

unto me who is this terrible manifestation. Be gracious, O greatest of the gods." To him Krishna replies, "I am Time the consumer. Be thou my instrument . . . slay on" (33)! To Arjuna crying for forgiveness Krishna is revealed once more in his true man-like manifestation, saying, "Be not afflicted nor confused; look again, and rejoice unafraid" (49). So ends the apocalyptic vision.

Book XII. The Doctrine of Loving Faith

Arjuna asks, "Of those devotees who worship Thee only with heart at rest, and those who worship the Unmanifested, which receives higher illumination?" "My own devotees," replies Krishna, "are supremely enlightened. But those who pay perfect devotion to the Unmanifested . . . they also find Me" (2-4). "Yet it is harder for them. Therefore fix thy thoughts on Me; on Me let thy faith dwell" (8). "Failing this do works as unto Me." "Failing this, resting in Me, abandon the fruits of action." "Better is knowledge than endless effort; better than knowledge is meditation; better than meditation is renunciation of the fruit of actions. From renunciation follows peace" (10-12). There follows a fine summary of the ethical ideal of Gita. And with this the second main division ends. The devotee is to be like the Supreme, hating none, compassionate to all, equable. This doctrine of detachment is taught first in terms of the Sankhya, then of the Yoga and Vedanta, and all are reconciled in the following book:

III. The Individual Self and the Cosmic Self Are One

Book XIII. The Doctrine of Kshetra and Kshetrajña; the Knower of the Field and the Field; or Subject and Object

Though the Absolute is so difficult to know, such knowledge is now to be declared. "Whenever the least thing animate or inanimate is born it springs from the union of the perishable Kshetra or field, which is the body, with the Kshetrajña or knower of the field, which is Spirit" (1). But beyond this Sankhya dualism is the Idealism of the Vedanta: "Know Me to be the Knower of all Fields" (2). The Supreme is neither Being nor Non-Being (13); it is devoid of all qualities yet is witness of all (14). Distant as well as near it is light of lights (15-17). Prakriti, or nature, and Purusha Spirits are both eternal (19). Different roads to Freedom (24-25).

To distinguish Field and Knower is to win Salvation to come to the Supreme (26-34).

Book XIV. Doctrine of the three Gunas, or Qualities

Krishna is Father: "Nature is the womb into which I cast the seed" (3). The different gunas, or qualities, of the Sankhya are defined, and it is shown how liberation from them is gained and what it implies (17-20). "He who worships Me in faithful love, transcends the qualities, and makes for union with the Eternal" (26). "The wise . . . also atatin my state" (19). Devotees and seer alike owe their salvation to Divine Grace.

Book XV. Doctrine of Attainment of the Supreme Spirit

A simile of the pippal tree from the Katha Upanishad; but modified in the Sankhya sense. (The vast tree of Samsara is to be uprooted by the weapon of detachment: and the individual surrender himself to the One Purusha.) As knowledge is the way of salvation, right knowledge of Self is here elaborated: "Whoever, undeluded, knows Me as Supreme Spirit, he knows all, and worships Me in all forms. This is my secret instruction. Knowing this a man becomes doer of all that must be done" (19-20).

Book XVI. Doctrine of Separation Between Divine and Demoniac

Human nature as indicated in the XIth book is either godlike or demoniac. These classes are now discussed: the one is bound for liberation, the other for bondage. "Desire wrath and Greed are the three-fold gate of Hell" (21). The Scriptures are the authority as to what is right and what is wrong.

Book XVII. Doctrine of the Three Kinds of Faith

Yet the Scriptures are not themselves truth. True faith, true liberality, true austerity are now set forth; and faith is seen to be the essential foundation of all. Three kinds of food (7-10), of sacrifice (11-13), of penance (14-19), of gifts (20-22). "Whatever offering and sacrifice is made, whatever austerity practised, whatever action is done without faith, it is unrighteous, asat" (28).

Summary and *Epilogue* Book XVIII. Doctrine of Freedom and Renunciation

Renunciation and Work (1-19). Three kinds of knowledge (20-22), of work (23-25), of agent (26-28), of intelligence (29-32), of fortitude (33-35), of happiness (36-39), caste duties (40-44), detachment (45-49). The supreme mystery is now revealed. "Most mysterious of all," concludes Krishna, "are my supreme words: 'Thou art

ever beloved of Me, therefore declare I what is for thy welfare. Be my devotee . . . and thou shalt come to me' " (64). "Abandon all acts, I shall free you from sin: be of good cheer" (66). Arjuna is warned not to tell this to the unworthy, who are not willing for spiritual discipline, or who revile Krishna (67). But whoever shall expound the supreme mystery to those who love him shall surely come to him (68). At this revelation Arjuna cries, "Ended is my delusion: by thy grace. . . . I am freed from doubts and will perform thy bidding." In other words, he will go on with the grim task of battle, because he now realizes that even on the battlefield Krishna will be with him, if he does his caste duties without attachment, and renouncing their fruits.

The epilogue expresses the joy and wonder of the narrator. "Wherever is Krishna, Lord of Yoga, wherever is Arjuna, there are established victory, increase, and wise action." Thus the book returns to the field of Kurukshetra and to the problem with which it opened. It is clear however that in the meantime it has risen into an ideal supramundane sphere, and while it is intended to reaffirm the caste duties of the warrior which the Buddhist reform had successfully challenged, it is intended still more to depict the eternal spiritual conflict.

iv

If the field of Kurukshetra is an idealized and supramundane sphere, still more is the Vulture Peak of the Lotus. Here in the serene light of a heavenly mount a kind of allegory or mystery play, with even less real history than the Gita, unfolds itself.

The Lotus, like the other books, consists of three main sections, with a Prologue and an Epilogue. It may be analyzed as follows:

Chapter i: *Prologue or Prelude.*
I. Chapters ii-xiv: *The One Way.*
II. Chapters xv-xvi: *The Eternal Person.*
III. Chapters xvii-xxv: *Consummation and Perpetuation.*
Chapter xxvi: *Appendix or Epilogue.*

I. The One Way

i Prelude: The idealized Vulture Peak is seen, lit up by rays from Buddha's head. He is in deep contemplation, and about him are gathered hosts of Buddhas, saints, and lesser beings of all ranks, down to the lowest spirits in hell.

ii This is the kernel of the first part. Sakyamuni comes out of his contemplation to reveal the real meaning of the Dharma. Beyond mortal comprehension, it can be grasped by those who have faith in the Buddha. His pedagogic skill (Upaya)is set forth, and he discloses the One Way (Ekayana) by which past Buddhas have attained enlightenment, and all may now attain it. "There is indeed but one way. The leader of the world appears to reveal the Buddha-knowledge; he has no other aim. Therefore, seek to understand the Mystery of the Buddhas; forsake all doubt and hesitation. Buddhas shall ye become; be of good cheer." The means are various according to men's character, but the Truth and the Goal are one.

iii-v This is illustrated by three parables: the Father and his Children, the Prodigal and his Father, the Rain and the Plants.

vi Prophecies of future attainments by Kasyapa and other famous disciples.

vii Tales of former Buddhas whom Sakyamuni claims to remember millions of years ago. He tells of his early vow to become a Buddha and makes the claim, "I am chief god among gods."

viii The future destiny of five hundred monks, who though in the past they were narrow and ignorant, now rejoice in the new Evangel.

ix Ananda, Rahula and two thousand others are to reach full enlightenment. Slow of understanding while their Master was on earth, they will now become Buddhas.

x Great multitudes of gods, demons and men are all to attain; and instructions are given them: "Those who have heard and meditated upon this king of Sutras, this authoritative Scripture, are wise. Let them enter the abode of the Victor, put on his

robe, sit upon his seat and preach this Sutra, nothing daunted. For my abode is liberality, my robe is forbearance, and my seat is the doctrine of the void (sunya)," i.e. both that the world is empty and unreal, and that the Ultimate Reality (Bodhi or Nirvana) is ineffable.

xi — A vast stupa or burial urn now appears containing the ancient Buddha Prabhutaratna, surrounded by heavenly hosts paying homage, and a voice issues from it praising Sakyamuni and his new gospel. The former Buddha invites him to enter the shrine and share his throne, and they join in preparing the disciples for the approaching end of Sakyamuni's ministry, bid them revere the truth and preach it, for "all such are sons of the Buddhas, eyes of the world, heirs of Buddhahood." The traitor Devadatta himself will one day be a Buddha: and a poor Naga girl of the aborigines appears as a preacher of the new Evangel. Such is its universality. This book in other words shows us not only that the new gospel is liberal, but that it is orthodox, approved by the Buddhas of old time.

xii and xiii — Two ways of preaching: by aggressive polemic and gentle suasion. The Buddha has always been sending men out to preach: "From the beginning have I roused men and educated them for this work of the Bodhisattva."

II. Revelation of the Eternal Person of Sakyamuni

xiv — Bodhisattvas issuing in multitudes from the earth offer to go out and begin their ministry at once. But Sakyamuni forbids them, and pointing to innumerable saints who appear from all directions, declares that they have existed from all eternity.

xv — He himself has so existed and worked for the salvation of the world. This is the kernel of the second part: "Time beyond reckoning is it since I reached enlightenment. I have not ceased to preach the Law."

xvi — Maitri the future Buddha gives an address on this new revelation. Sakyamuni preaches on the five perfections of the Bodhisattva, and on the merit of keeping this sutra and paying honor to it.

III. Consummation and Perpetuation

xvii-xxv Narratives to console and inspire. Great Bodhisattvas such as Bhaisajyaraja (xxii) and Avalokitesvara (xxiv) will be their helpers: the latter especially will appear, another Krishna, when need arises. Like the Holy Spirit he will carry on the work done by the Master.

xxvi-xxvii Epilogue and Appendix

CHAPTER VI

THE GOAL IN THE THREE BOOKS

From the unreal to the Real,
From darkness to Light
From death to Deathlessness.
—Brihad: Upanishad.

It is clear that there are, in the view of the Goal held out by each of these books, elements of real religious experience. As the central purpose of each book is to reveal the eternal Lord, so the central purpose of each Lord is to guide his devotees to the Goal.

i

Release (Moksha or Mukti) is the goal of Indian religion as a whole. As described in the Upanishads, it is the realization of the identity of the believer with Brahman-atman. The terms used to describe it, though mostly negative, have an alluring sound to captives in the toils of "this monstrous samsara." The naïve optimism and joy of Vedic times has somehow passed, and we find Indian religion offering as the Supreme Bliss escape from bodily life as it exists upon earth. "As rivers in Ocean . . . the wise lose themselves in the Divine Being, beyond all." [1] The seers of the Upanishads, accepting the doctrines of karma and samsara, concentrated their attention upon a Beyond, a Far Shore. It is the quest of all mystics. Their eager search was rewarded, we cannot doubt, by occasional experience of an other-worldly joy (ananda) so different from the things of sense that they called it the Ineffable. The last and only description of it was Neti, not so. It is the "Void" [2] (Sunya) of the Mahayana. "Words turn

back from it." [3] Can the lover tell his experience to one who has not shared it?

Later reflection upon this experience analyzed it as an awakening from the delusion of sense-life to the ultimate Reality, Oneness with the Atman. The individual has no separate existence; there is one, and only one, Reality. To realize this is to find salvation, to pass "from the unreal to the real, from death to life, from darkness to light." [4] It is Moksha or Mukti, "Release."

Personality is, in fact, a delusion to the philosophic Hindu; and even the Person of Krishna is a projection on the human stage of an illusory being, who by his powers of delusion makes himself visible in human form to his devotees. The Vedantist maintains that the Unmanifest cannot be made manifest. It can at best appear as a docetic image. It is itself impersonal, and though some Indians, like Ramanuja, read the doctrine of a personal God into the Upanishads, there are relatively few passages, at any rate in the older of them, which will bear such an interpretation. In the same way it is only by ignoring the fact that the Gita, as they now have it, is a Vedanta Scripture, and by selecting some great theistic passages from it, that its devotees can escape its essential monism. Yet there are such great passages as the following:

> Abandoning all acts, take refuge in Me alone.
> I shall liberate thee from all sin, grieve not.[5]
> To Me shalt thou come. It is my true word. Thout art dear to Me.[6]
> If he sees Me in all and all in Me, I am not lost to him, nor he to Me.[7]

The Gita, in a word, while it contains a philosophic monism, does indeed contain passages and doctrines which are theistic, and encourages the idea of personal survival "in Krishna." The older Bhagavata faith is blended but not reconciled, either with the later Vedanta monism, or with the dualism of the Sankhya. The Yoga, however, introduced into the Sankhya system Isvara, the Lord, and taught that Moksha is union with Him; and this doctrine made

possible an alliance between Sankhya rationalism and Bhagavata faith.

All these views of the Goal are accordingly to be found in the Gita, and are put naïvely side by side." [8] Thus, in the thirteenth Book, we read:

(1) That it is an awakening to Reality—to Brahman as the One (Vedanta XIII, 16-17).
(2a) That it is the separation of purusha, "souls," from prakriti, "nature" (Sankhya XIII, 23).
(2b) That it is by union with the Lord Isvara that this is best done (Yoga XIII, 27).
(3) That it is union with Krishna (Bhagavata XIII, 18).

The Gita is, as we have seen, like an elaborate temple in which mystic, philosopher, devotee, and even atheist may find shelter. It is commonly interpreted in all these ways, and we see a Gandhi drawing his chief inspiration as a theist, and the content of his serene knowledge of a personal God, from this source. Has he unconsciously christianized Krishna? It may well be; for he is an eclectic, apparently unconscious that the pacific doctrines of the Sermon on the Mount and Buddhism, upon which he also freely draws, are incompatible with the apologia for war which is the initial theme of the Gita. Again, while his whole life is a witness to the power of personality, he seems to forget that Hindu thought has no place for it here or hereafter. Remaining true to his upbringing as a Vaishnavite, he yet quotes the Gospels freely. This is what millions do in India to-day. Selecting what they need from the Gita, they believe in the Fatherhood of God, and in the survival of personality hereafter: "Knowing me . . . He reaches Peace." Yet the Gita is for the most part vague; Brahmannirvana is perhaps its most definite term, and means "oneness with Brahman" or "cessation in Brahman"; for the rest its phrases must be interpreted according to temperament or philosophy. They are siddhi, "perfection," santi, "peace," padam anamayam, "seat of bliss," and the like.

For the Vedantist, who also accepts the Gita as his textbook, Moksha is the end of the dream (or nightmare) of

personal life; man has not only "found union with the Eternal"; he has "become the Eternal." For the Sankhya, which also finds expression in the Gita, the Goal is the freeing of the impersonal spirit through detachment; it is escape from evil gunas by escape from consciousness.

If then the devotees of Krishna hold less orthodox and less arid views of the Goal, and speak of it as "the Supreme Abode, from which man returns no more to earth," [9] they do it by ignoring the teaching of these other passages; yet the doctrine of maya is over all, and the dictum of Royce is pertinent: "A Goal," he says, "that is a goal of no real process has as little value as it has content." [10] The doctrine of maya, intended to enhance the value of the Absolute, in fact annuls it. It also cuts the nerve of the moral ideals expressed in some passages such as the following: "Brahman-nirvana is won by him whose sin is worn away, who has cut the knot of unbelief, who is self-controlled, who delights in the welfare of all." [11] This has a noble sound, but when we remember that human life is regarded as an illusion, and that the "welfare of all" consists in recognizing this, the words become empty; and the goal, though it is often described as the result of moral conduct,[12] is extinction of the personality in Brahman. Vedantic monism in a word has grown about the old theistic religion and ethic of the Gita, and almost strangled it.

ii

This fatal monism it was against which Sakyamuni protested. He sought to emphasize the reality of human life, and above all the beauty of the moral life; his nibbana is the end of tanha, it is not annihilation.

All the views of the goal which we have mentioned were held by his people, just as there were various views of Eternal Life among the contemporaries of Jesus. The great Indian reformer profoundly modified the concept; agnostic as to its metaphysical content, he emphasized its mystical and ethical significance. To a world obsessed on the one hand with the doctrine of the One Atman, and

on the other with the desire to secure a personal immortality in some popular heaven, he set forth his central doctrine of anatta. This is the keynote of his critical attack on current beliefs. There is, he says, no substantial unchanging Atman or Ego, either in man or in the universe; all is transient, all on fire. Man is an ever-changing stream of consciousness, the same yet not the same from moment to moment and from life to life, and the universe is as fleeting, as little permanent and static. That he attacked the Ego in the interests of morality is clear; to get rid of egoism was as important in ethics as in religion; and he called man to realize his moral responsibility. This is endangered alike by the monism of the philosopher and by the polytheism of the crowd. Nibbana, as it is called in Pali, is accordingly like Eternal Life, a moral concept; unlike Eternal Life, it has no connotation of a communion of the soul and God. Like Moksha it means the end of samsara, and of the craving and grasping egoism which leads to samsara; unlike moksha it has no reference to identity with the Atman. Again, like Eternal Life for the early Church, Nibbana was for the early Sangha the bliss of a great experience. They interpreted it first as the blowing out of the fires of lust, infatuation, and malice; and then they went on in accordance with the general views of the times to explain it as the end of samsara. For religious experience is inevitably colored by the beliefs which the experient has inherited.

An undoubtedly authentic saying of Sakyamuni is the famous summary: "One thing only do I teach, sorrow and the end of sorrow." And a classic expression of this "one thing" is the equally famous Fire Sermon preached at the beginning of his public ministry. It sets forth the lesson which his contemporary Heraclitus was preaching at this very time in Ephesus, that all is a flux, all is constantly changing, all is burning. "Where is the joy, what the pleasure, when all is in flames?" asks the Dhammapada (146), and it reiterates the cry, "All is fleeting, all unreal, all sorrowful" (277-279), in order to call men and women

to put out the conflagration and reach the Cool State, the Deathless Way, the Supreme Rest (21.202).

Such sayings are very numerous, many of them very beautiful, and they embody Sakyamuni's central thought. "All things are on fire, O monks," says the Fire Sermon.[13] "With what are they on fire? With the fire of passion, with the fire of hate, with the fire of infatuation: with birth, old age, death, sorrow, and despair are they on fire." The wise man will see this, and freeing himself of tanha, "passion," or "craving," will reach vimutti, i.e. "freedom" or Nibbana, whose central meaning is extinction of these fires (the flames of sensuality, ill-will and stupidity), but which is also called the Island, the Refuge, the Holy City, the Far Shore, Bliss Ineffable. "Wherein does Nibbana consist?" asks the Introduction to the Jatakas. "When the fire of lust is extinct, that is Nibbana; when the fires of hate and infatuation are extinct, when pride, false views and all other passions are extinct." [14] "The highest bliss is to leave the pride which says 'I am.'" [15] "I have gained coolness," says the Mahavagga, "by the extinction of passion, and am in Nibbana." [16]

Here is a statement of a doctrine which recalls the words of the Fourth Gospel, "the Son of Man which is in heaven." And there are many synonyms of Nibbana which have a Johannine ring. It is called mokkha or mutti, "salvation," yogakkhemo, "freedom," saccam, "truth" or "reality," dhuvam and anantam, "eternal," santi, "peace," sivam, "bliss," amatapadam, "the deathless way." That these phrases embody a real experience is clear to any student of early Buddhism; and they should give pause to the hasty critic, who, finding them in the mystery religions, maintains that they came into a Jewish sect from paganism, and changed it into Christianity! These are universal ideals of the religious. "Nirvana," says Heiler, "is nothing but eternal salvation, after which the heart of the religious yearns on the whole earth." [17]

It is clear that as the experience of Nibbana became rarer the language about it became on the one hand more positive

and spatial, on the other more scholastic and negative. Where the Master had called it extinction of becoming, schoolmen began to call it extinction of being. Where he had spoken of a state of mind, the masses spoke of a place. By the beginning of the Christian era it is probable that the actual experience of this cool and peaceful state of mind and heart was almost unknown, and that men tended to objectify Nibbana, and to conceive it as a place rather than a state. A transition between these two views—the too negative and the too spatial—may be found in the Milinda Pañha of about the first century B.C., where it is asked, "Is there a place where Freedom may be won?" and the answer is, "There is such a place, even virtue." [18]

But it was not Nibbana that Sakyamuni offered to the masses: as we find in the Pali books and in the Asokan inscriptions their goal is svarga, a heaven. Moreover Buddhist missions, which flourished between the third century B.C. and the third century A.D., had necessarily to make the reward they offered alluring to simple and sensuous peoples. They had to compete with the popular worship which we find in the Mahabharata, and also with the sensuous polytheism of the frontier. These two tendencies, scholastic and popular, are reflected in the Lotus. On the one hand Sakyamuni is made to announce his approaching end as final extinction. It is said of a former Buddha "that very night . . . he met complete extinction as a lamp when its fuel is exhausted." [19] At the same time it is made clear that Sakyamuni only appears to pass away: "It was but an artifice of mine: repeatedly am I reborn in this world." [20] True to his favorite Scripture, the Lotus, we find the great Japanese reformer Nichiren proclaiming to thirteenth-century Japan:

> A mirage was the smoke of Shaka's pyre
> Which seemed at Kusinara to arise.
> Death could not hold him, nor might fire
> Destroy the teacher of such verities.
> Hark! he yet liveth, and doth speak
> Eternal Truth from Heaven's Vulture Peak!

This poem indicates, what is undoubtedly true, that the popular Mahayana expressed in the Lotus puts far into the background the old concept of Nibbana, which it does not deny, and sets in the foreground a living Lord and a vision of a Paradise, whether the Vulture Peak of Sakyamuni or the Western heaven of Amitabha, in which souls continue to abide.[21] It is this which made liberal Buddhism so attractive to the many. Some monks might indulge in the doctrine of an illusory world, and others might still cherish the far-off vision of Nirvana; but for men and women in the world it offered a bhakti cult with its noble pantheon, and a continued personal existence in a paradise of semi-material pleasures. As is suggested in the contemporary Amitayurdhyana-Sutra, even simple lay people like the queen mother, to whom Sakyamuni reveals methods of meditation, can attain the Beatific Vision.[22] Claims are frequent in Buddhist writings that such visions—Amitabha in the light of the setting sun, Avalokitesvara in the spray of some waterfall or in the cool gloom of some sea-cave—have rewarded the faith of the devotee. And as personal gods attract the devotion of the faithful, the old anatta doctrine, that man is a bundle of emotions, volitions, sensations, fades away, and in its place the innate and common-sense conviction of personal identity and personal survival maintains its hold. So in the Gita we see a constant conflict between the theory that Krishna is an illusory being and the experience that he is a real one, and between the monism of the Upanishads and the dualism of religious experience. "There cannot be worship unless we admit duality, and yet there cannot be devotion unless we fix our gaze on One." Sakyamuni and Krishna, while they are on the one hand great and striking enough figures to be identified with the One, are on the other sufficiently personal to be set over against the person of the worshiper, and to confirm his conviction that he has a personal existence, and his hope that it will not be snuffed out.

iii

Man with his sins and his needs, his loves and his hates, his longings and his strivings, is a person, and when he finds himself face to face with a gracious God, responds with his whole being. His instinctive longing for "life more abundant," here and hereafter, is surely not planted in him for nought; it is a half-conscious affirmation of faith in the reasonableness of the universe, of the justice of God, who "is not the God of the dead, but of the living." It is indeed part of his noble heritage as a man, or as the Fourth Gospel would say, as a child of God, and Christianity seems to offer to it a satisfaction for which the intellect need not apologize. The philosophy of the Fourth Gospel, so far as it has any, is not in conflict with this religious experience of man, but affirms it and approves it.

In its concept of Eternal Life [23] the ethical and mystical are nobly blended. The Gospel does not, like early Buddhism, snub man's longing for communion with God; it teaches that this is Reality and Life, and offers him full satisfaction also for his moral needs. In communion with God man becomes a channel for His ethical purposes. The Gospel is moreover entirely free from the charge legitimately brought against both the Gita and the Lotus, namely, that they say one thing and mean another. There is no lila or maya, and hardly a trace of even the upaya (pedagogy or strategy) of Sakyamuni about the Johannine Christ. He says to babes and sinners what he is prepared to say also to saints and philosophers. To all alike He offers Eternal Life. Like Nirvana and Mukti, it is a concept with a long history and several meanings. To understand what the Evangelist means by it, we must see what it meant to the Church of his time. It was, as we have seen, a Church at the crossroads, into which there entered both Hellenic and Hebrew concepts; and into which converts from the mystery religions crowded.

To the Hebrew, God is the Living God, the Source of

Life—"With Thee is the fountain of life," cries the Psalmist. And though this concept was at first a semi-physical one, the idea gradually gained ground that the true life is moral and religious. It is life in communion with God, by which the whole personality is enriched and vivified: "My flesh and my soul rejoice in the Living God"; "By every word of God doth man live." [24] These ideas we meet in the Synoptic Gospels, developed and vitalized by the life-giving Person of Jesus. Here life is essentially the life of the soul: "He that findeth his life shall lose it; and he that loseth his life for My sake shall find it." "The life is more than the meat." "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of things that he possesseth." [25] This spiritual life is a state into which men enter through obedience to the Divine Will: "This do and thou shalt live," is the reply of Jesus to the question, "What shall I do to inherit eternal life? [26] And in this passage Eternal Life is used as a synonym for the Kingdom of God. The present moral ideal is bound up with the future and other-worldly ideal of the Age to Come. Both are stages of a life of communion with God; it is obedience to God which brings in His Realm, and the Jews looked forward to a Golden Age, of which they had conflicting theories. Jesus seems to have used the term Kingdom of God to denote a great reality which is already come, but which is to come much more fully in the future. And Eternal Life is used in the Fourth Gospel in both these senses, though the present reality is most emphasized. In contrast to the Synoptists, for whom Eternal Life is a future state,[27] it is for the Fourth Evangelist an actual experience of the soul: "He that believeth hath Eternal Life . . . hath passed from death to life." [28] And this will be more fully consummated hereafter, "at the last day." [29]

St. Paul gives this experience classic utterance: "To me to live is Christ." "I live, yet not I but Christ liveth in me." [30] And this whole range of thought is well expressed in the story of another Christian of the apostolic age and type. Haled before Cæsar, he was commanded to worship

him: "I will take from thee thy citizenship." "Nay, Sire, thou canst not, for it is in heavenly places." "I will take thy life." "Nay, that is hid with Christ in God."

Yet to St. Paul, as to the seer of Ephesus, another tradition seems to have made its contribution. To the Greek, life is essentially "the higher principle of thought." The Greek, in fact, seeming to be more philosophical, is less so than the Hebrew. He is not less anthropomorphic, he is less intelligently anthropomorphic; for he thinks in terms of intellect rather than of personality as a whole. "God for him is living, inasmuch as the energy of thought is life." Like the Hindu he conceives of knowledge of God as a Gnosis. God is the Absolute, the Eternal Reason, whom man can know by the exercise of his powers of thought. And even when he discards the discursive reason and speaks of Nous, "intuitive reason," as the eye of the soul, "akin to the Divine and Immortal and Eternal," it is still reason to which he trusts. In Philo and St. Paul Greek intellectualism is blent with Hebrew theism. The Platonic doctrine of ideas, of life here as a shadow of the real life, was no doubt familiar to St. Paul and to our Evangelist. The eternal self-existent Idea of Plato holds communion with the finite, which feels its Presence (Parousia), and in man it is the rational faculty. The words used by Plato, κοινωνία and μέθεξις, to express communion and participation, were forms ready to the hand of Philo and the early Christian theologians. Not only are the words used in the Pauline Epistles and in the Fourth Gospel, but the ideas which they embody are central as expressing the relationship of the Logos to the world.[31] St. Paul conceives of man as having to die to the flesh and to live to Christ. Obedience to sin is death, and obedience to righteousness in Christ is life. In entering into this new fellowship a man "dies to death and lives to life." Eternal Life, in other words, can be lived now and is essentially the knowledge of God and Christ. This Pauline conception the Fourth Gospel develops.[32] The Logos has brought Eternity into the midst of time, and is a great gift of God to men. It is

a new Gnosis by which they are reborn to Eternal Life. This Gnosis is a vital appreciation of God in Christ, quickened by love. And as if to meet the needs of the hungry and thirsty souls whom the mystery religions and their sacraments did not satisfy, the Gospel is full of sacramental teaching. Eternal Life is not only a Gnosis, not only a new birth in the moral sense, it is also a gift to the initiate who partakes of the Body and Blood. "Whoso eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood hath Eternal Life." And this will be more fully consummated hereafter: "I will raise him up at the last day." These ideas are nobly allegorized in the story of the raising of Lazarus, and in the great words which sum it up. "I am the Resurrection and the Life," says Jesus to the sorrowing Martha seeking to comfort herself with belief in the final resurrection: "He who believes on Me will live, even if he dies: and no one who lives and believes in Me ever dies." [33] The raising of Lazarus in a word is a dramatic representation of what happens when a soul is "reborn" in Christ. Life is imparted to it, which makes it immortal. This life is the real life. Over against the visible world is a world of ideal reality; and it is this world which Jesus embodies. He is the Truth, the True Vine, the True Bread over against the more tangible but less real realities of the visible world. In them as in the soul of the believer He is the indwelling cosmic Reality, through whom all came into being. The Prologue in fact completes the Pauline conception of a Christ "in whom, and unto whom, and through whom are all things"; "and in whom all things consist." [34]

And because of this indwelling of the Logos all things have a reality. They are sacraments, not illusions like the phenomenal world of the Vedanta. Persons above all are real; as St. Paul says they are "temples of the Holy Spirit," and as the Fourth Gospel and the First Epistle say, friends of Christ, partakers of the Divine Nature, whose fellowship is with the Father and the Son. It is this which enables the Christian to be in the world and to overcome it, to master it for spiritual ends. For as the Eternal dwells

in it, it itself travails to be mastered by the Sons of God, to be overcome by their victorious faith. This ideal of life victorious in the midst of time is in the sharpest contrast with the Indian concept of Freedom, to be attained by escaping this world and passing either into Nirvana, or into the being of Krishna. The Christian view is that in union with God in Christ man attains abundant life.

From these basal concepts of the Goal to be attained spring the ethical ideals of the three books. And these in turn can only be understood if we grasp first what was the ethical heritage of their authors.

CHAPTER VII

THEIR ETHICAL HERITAGE

The great Upanishads are the deep still mountain tarns . . . the Bhagavad-gita is, perhaps, the lake among the foothills wherein are gathered the same waters of wisdom.

—CHARLES JOHNSTON.

i

THE ethical heritage of the Gita is best studied in the earlier Upanishads and in early Buddhism. The monism and intellectualism of the one led to the revolt of the other; yet both have greatly influenced the Gita, which in its earlier form was itself a revolt, and which is in its present form a skillful reconciliation. The Upanishads are mainly concerned with the doctrine of the Brahman; but they have also ethical notes, as they indicate the implications of this advaitism, or non-dualism. These are of varying value, and some repel us. To listen to some modern exponents of the Vedanta, such as Swami Vivekananda, is to realize why Sakyamuni revolted. To listen to others, and to the eulogies of scholars like Deussen, who bids India cleave to this heritage as "the noblest foundation for morality," is to wonder if Sakyamuni knew what he was doing! The monism of these thinkers has in fact two kinds of fruit: one is antinomianism and fatalism; the other is ethical harmony of a very lofty type. These are the fruit of mysticism in all ages. If we set side by side certain well-known passages of the Upanishads, this becomes clear. "To him who knows Brahman no evil clings, as water clings not to the lotus leaf. He is the Brahmin." [1] Here is a passage capable of a noble interpretation, for it may mean that the true Brahmin gives no foothold to evil, that the mystic can do no sin. But it may be read, and often is, in

the light of other passages such as this: "Whoso knows Brahman is not harmed by any deed—not if he murder mother, father, or Brahmin." [2] Against this teaching that the initiate is above good and evil, a teaching which faced St. Paul and the early Church,[3] and which has continually dogged the steps of Vaishnavite Hinduism, Sakyamuni stoutly and laconically protested: "See evil as evil, good as good"; "Not of like result are good and evil." It is not this kind of fruit upon the tree of monism which is admired by Deussen. There is another which springs from its advaitism, and which is dear to mystical minds; it is illustrated by the great passage, "Whoso beholds all as Brahman and Brahman as Atman of all can feel no hatred or contempt." [4] It is this advaitism which Indians find in the Fourth Gospel, especially in such discourses as that of the Vine and the branches, but generally in the Logos doctrine which underlies the whole; and there is much of it also in St. Paul's Christology, and in his concept of the Church as the mystical Body of Christ. In the advaitism of the Upanishads many noble and selfless lives have found inspiration. We find it used in the Gita as the motive to selflessness; [5] yet it remains true, even if we forget antinomianism and sophistry, that these heights are seldom reached; and it is clear that for most Upanishads morality is chiefly a means to an end, rather than an end in itself, or a fruit of true religion. The moral precepts which we admire most are for the struggler who is at the lower rungs of the ladder, and has not yet arrived.

This ladder is that of Indian asceticism. Its goal and foundation is the passionless Absolute, and the highest type of man is to be as detached; the world is unreal, there is but one Reality. Thus when in the Gita Krishna teaches Arjuna to enter the battle as a sacred duty, and to keep his spirit detached, he bases his teaching on a passage which he quotes from the Katha Upanishad, that there is neither slayer nor slain, but only One, unchanging.[6] This is the central theme of many Upanishads. It is the key to their ethical teaching. The Upanishads in fact fall into both

abysses which yawn beneath the narrow path of all mystics; on the one hand is antinomianism, on the other quietism and apathy. And the concept of the Absolute as the Unchanging, the Eternal Stillness untouched by evil, necessarily colors the ethical ideal of its devotees; so the quietist Te is based on Tao, the silent indwelling Word of China, and the Johannine Agape on the active Logos.

Yet side by side with the ascetic in ancient India, as there are to-day, were priests and laymen, and only some among them were philosophers and seers. The Upanishads represent all these groups; and it is a mistake to seek a consistent philosophy or a unified ethical ideal. Theism and monism, mysticism and ritualism, asceticism and the joy of life all find expression. Amidst the prevailing quietism therefore we find notes of a more strenuous ethic, as personality in man and God is emphasized. As we read in the charming tale of Satyakama the bastard, he is a true Brahmin whose conduct reveals his noble lineage,[7] and goodness is as a fragrant perfume. It is such passages which inspired early Buddhism;[8] and as for Sakyamuni and Plato man is for some Upanishadic thinkers a charioteer who has to drive the restless horses of sense. "He who has understanding, and whose mind is controlled, controls his senses as a charioteer his horses."[9] Man is moreover not left alone. Like Arjuna on the field of Kurukshetra, he is to realize that there sits One beside him in the chariot. "Know that it is the Atman who sits in the chariot of the body. The senses are his horses. It is intellect who is the driver, and mind which is the reins." This passage seems to have attracted Sakyamuni and the author of the Gita alike; yet how differently they use it. Sakyamuni insists that "self is master of self," gets rid of the Atman, and says, "He is the true charioteer who restrains the horses of passion."[10]

The Gita, less stoical, holds out the promise that Krishna will drive the chariot, and that victory is assured. All alike are concerned with victory over sense, and with escape from the world. The way to it in the Upanishads is the

way of intuitive knowledge, jñana; but the will and the affections are not ignored. Upasana, "worship," is emphasized, and "he who has not ceased from sin cannot know God." The way to this knowledge is the ethical way of tranquillity, restraint, renunciation, resignation, concentration of mind, and faith. The obstacles are violence, restlessness, and the other corresponding vices.[11] Tapas, "austerity," is partly a means to subduing these vices and strengthening these virtues; and though it is often a means to obtaining magical powers, yet there is a beginning of a nobler concept akin to that of Sakyamuni: "faith is the true austerity."[12] "Uprightness, truth, study of Scripture, equanimity, self-restraint, liberality, sacrifice—all these are austerity."[13]

Again, while some Upanishads are tinged with the priestly greed and religiosity which mar the Brahmanas, others insist that "the true gifts of piety are austerity, generosity, right conduct, harmlessness (ahimsa), truthfulness."[14]

ii

The teachings of Sakyamuni then are in part a revolt against the teachings of the Upanishads; they are much more truly a development of the nobler ideals of these wonderful books. The best sacrifice, he taught, is obedience to the wise and holy. The true Brahmin is the man of noble life; the true austerity is moderation.[15] In our present uncertainty as to the dates of some of the Upanishads and some of the Buddhist books, it is not possible to say whether Sakyamuni borrowed his choicest sayings from this source. Yet the Dhammapada, accepted by all as an early collection of his teachings, has many echoes from Upanishads which are probably still earlier, and the Mahabharata has whole passages which might come out of the Dhammapada. No doubt much of it is proverbial wisdom and does not imply borrowing, and Sakyamuni's use of the vernacular idiom and of proverbs and folklore is one chief reason for the great success of his movement.

He excelled in the use of simple yet charming similes and parables. Another reason was that he put new life into old ideals, such as that of ahimsa, "harmlessness," and its more positive form, compassion; these he expressed more clearly and vigorously than his predecessors, and embodied in his own gracious personality till they became a recognized ideal for all his people. There are other things, such as the practice of Samadhi, or meditation, which were not new; and the Buddhist reform is in the main a redefinition of old terms, "a transvaluation of values." Like Jesus, Sakyamuni made old truths new and vital. The authority with which he spoke sprang from his authentic experience, and from his claim that in this he had found the end of samsara. For his followers, faith was essential. As we have seen, he was no rationalist; until their experience had proved the truth of his teaching men had to take it on authority, and he claimed to have immense reserves of truth. As the forest compared with a handful of leaves which he plucked as he spoke, so are the truths which are yet unrevealed.[16] Again, he is for his disciples the only source of truth. Faith then in him and in his teaching is essential. "In this world," says the Sutta Nipata, "faith is man's best possession"; and it continues:

> Morality well practiced brings happiness:
> Truth is the sweetest of all savours:
> Living wisely is the best life. . . .
> By faith man crosses samsara's flood:
> By zeal he crosses the ocean:
> By energy he conquers pain:
> By wisdom is he purified.[17]

All these qualities, then, have a place; and in one incident we find Sakyamuni questioned by his disciples and refusing to say which is best—wisdom, intuitive knowledge, or faith; all three are paths to freedom. Yet the testimony of these early saints or arhats shows how large a part faith played in their emancipation. Early Buddhism became for them, and still more for the masses, a bhakti. That the Founder

discouraged this is evident in some passages; yet words such as these are attributed in others to him: "loving faith leads to a heaven: obedience to the Dhamma leads to Nibbana," [18] and they seem to suggest that he made allowances for human frailty, knowing that the way of the stoic is not possible to the masses. These words deserve more attention than has been paid to them. If they are authentic words of Sakyamuni they imply that he recognized that most men are still in need of an ideal less cold and remote than that of Nibbana. Most men in fact cannot get along without faith, and cling to their instinctive belief in personal survival. Even if Sakyamuni did not use these words, they are striking enough as embodying an experience of the early Sangha; and in either case the Lotus and other popular Scriptures of the Mahayana are much less heretical than they are usually held to be by the Pali school and its Western students. Faith for both schools "is the root of right views." [19] "Sweet is rooted faith: sweet the gaining of insight." [20]

All Buddhists in fact agree that faith, energy, and insight are cardinal virtues; and the ten Paramitas or perfect qualities of the Bodhisattva are not very different from the seven Bojjhanga, or elements of Bodhi, of the arhat, nor indeed from the qualities of the saint of the Upanishads.

Faith, whether in Sakyamuni or in his teachings, is central to all forms of Buddhism, and Buddhist psychology has much to say as to its nature and value. It is like a magic stone cast into muddy waters to make them clear; it induces a calm, clear, and serene state of mind, and is valued as a means to this end.

With it we find another great quality which is also more a means to an end, and less an end in itself than in the Christian ethic. This is metta, "benevolence," which is a chief glory of Buddhism, yet which has its nerve cut by a certain spirit of calculation. The essence of the early Buddhist doctrine is that only by metta can hate be cast out, and men live serene in the midst of the careworn; only by this kindly feeling to all and yet by avoiding attach-

ment to any can man escape tanha, or craving, and with it samsara: "Not by hate is hate cast out, but only by refusing to hate"; "Overcome anger by refusing to be angry." [21] As the mongoose is immune to poison, so the man of metta is immune to enmity, and the Milinda Pañha reminds us of the love of Sakyamuni, the same to his traitor disciple Devadatta and to the robber chief as to his own son.[22] Here in fact and elsewhere in Pali books the ideal of the Bodhisattva is held up, who is like Mother Earth, equable to all, and "suffuses the whole world with thoughts of love." [23] This is an ideal found both in the Lotus and the Gita, and was perhaps inspired by the example and teachings of Sakyamuni in both. It is indeed a lofty and noble ideal, but, as we have seen, it contains something of aloofness and detachment. Metta must be free from any taint of pema, attachment, or affection.[24] A notable student of Buddhism concludes his recent exhaustive work with the words, "The ideal of Buddhism is a cruel mutilation of man." [25] These words are too severe, for as the author shows earlier in the same work the laity were given a place; and our modern reaction against monasticism has perhaps gone too far. There is room for every kind of excellence; and some are eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake. Yet there is truth in the indictment, for even the Bodhisattva and much more the Arhat lives in retreat and in the enjoyment of contemplation; and the loving layman is held to be on an altogether lower plane than the monk. Though the doctrine of sunyata, or the emptiness of men and things, is an extreme development, it yet indicates the trend of Buddhist idealism. Yet Asoka and Shotoku and many another notable lay adherent prove how real and fine a thing Buddhism can be, and how simple and noble is its central ethic of truthfulness, justice, tolerance, and compassion. These are the fine fruits of faith, and Buddhism marks an epoch in Indian religion by holding up the ideal of the upasika, or lay devotee, who is in the world yet not of it. His is the harder part; yet even amidst the cares and distractions of

family life he may attain arhatship or be a Bodhisattva. The Buddhist Scriptures contain fine passages like the Sigalovada, Mahamangala, and Vyaggapajja Suttas, which set forth the ideal for the laity; and Buddhism in fact did much to prepare the way for the Gita in its emphasis upon religion for the masses. The Jatakas are a storehouse of simple ethical ideals which may be set over against the less human ideals of the monks. For them religion is still a gnosis. And this is its essential character. "He who has knowledge and practices meditation is nigh unto Nibbana." [26]

With faith (saddha) and benevolence (metta) goes paññа, "intuitive wisdom"; to this early Buddhism and most later schools launch their final appeal. "Although the most sympathetic of all religions," says Paul Dahlke, "Buddhism is not the religion of love, but of knowledge." [27] It is in fact ultimately a way of Bodhi, of enlightenment, of mystic insight. Its Founder is the Awakened, the Seer, the Eye of the World, the Omniscient. From the root of knowledge spring all virtues, and from the root of ignorance (avijja) all vices spring. "When we compare them with the vices enumerated in the New Testament," says Dr. Anesaki, "we can see that the Buddhist specifications had more in view psychological analysis than the Christian, which was thoroughly practical." [28] This tendency is no doubt in part due to the analytic minds of Buddhist schoolmen of a later day, but it is nevertheless true that, practical reformer as he was, Sakyamuni himself was more intellectualist than Jesus, and that Indian religion as a whole emphasizes the mind, Hebraism and Christianity the will. The sinner is for one the fool, for the others the rebel.

This contrast may be made vivid by comparing the inner circle of the disciples of Sakyamuni with the inner circle of those of Jesus. Peter and the sons of Zebedee were men of impetuous and spontaneous affection, who seem to have been chosen because they were readier than others to make the plunge of faith, and had little of the calculating spirit. All four Gospels show us these simple-

hearted men leaving all in response to the invitation of Jesus, "Come follow Me." Sakyamuni calls men with something of the same authoritative brevity: Ehi, bhikkhu; "Come, be my monk"; but his great disciples, Sariputta and Moggallana, obey because "he has explained the causes of things," and we hear them commended for their great qualities of mind rather than of heart, and for self-mastery rather than self-surrender. That Sakyamuni should say to one of them, "Lovest thou me more than these?" is unthinkable. Western writers who call the backward yet faithful Ananda "the beloved disciple" do so from a desire to force parallels between Buddhism and Christianity.

Paññā, then, is central in early Buddhism as in Brahmanism. Yet at times we find metta exalted above all other ways: "All other bases for right conduct are not worth one-sixteenth part of the emancipation of the heart through love," says an early book, the Itivuttaka; and in this passage we almost certainly see a reflection of the lay mind. Yet, and to this we cannot return too often, the loving example of Sakyamuni is more potent throughout Buddhist history than his reasonable ethic. To the monk and philosopher he is the Enlightened; to the masses he is the Compassionate. He was surely more human and "lay" than most of his followers, intensely alive to the beauties of nature and an interested spectator of men and their problems. How much of the humanity of Jesus would have survived for posterity if the Gospels had been edited for several centuries before they were written down by monks, say of the Egyptian desert? When therefore we look for summaries of the teaching of Sakyamuni to set beside such collections as we have in the Sermon on the Mount, it is not easy to find them. Yet there is in the Dhammapada a section [29] which gives us a picture of the happy life of the religious, which is a fairly close parallel to the Beatitudes. And these two summaries are the very heart of the ethical heritage of the Lotus and of the Fourth Gospel. The first obvious comparison is between the "blessed" (makarios) of Jesus and the "happy" (sukha) of Sakya-

muni. The former has reference to the God-centered life; the latter appeals to no such sanction. "Happy" means "freed from suffering," harmonized; and Buddhism, often called a radical pessimism, offers a way of escape and even of joy. It teaches not only that the monk and the nun can be happy in the elect society of the religious, but that the layman can be happy by being a good member of the community. It teaches that it is a natural law that happiness follows right action as surely as the wheel follows the draught-ox. Both ideals of happiness, however they may differ, are rooted in the sense that all is well. The Christian is to be calm and serene because God rules, and He is Father; the Buddhist because the universe is lawful to the core, and is on the side of the good, providing a way of escape from the bondage which man's own tanha brings upon him. Sakyamuni, in fact, is much nearer to ethical theism than were most teachers of the Upanishads on the one hand, or the polytheists of his day on the other. It is partly for this reason that there is a joyousness about his early disciples which is a hallmark of reality, and which is struck in this fifteenth chapter, which begins, "O joy, we live angerless amidst the angry. . . . Healthy amidst the ailing. . . . Happy are we, possessing nothing." This is a joy akin to that which rings through the Beatitudes, and it has something of the same paradoxical nature. Early Christian, like early Buddhist, is rejoicing in a new-found sense of freedom, and of the friendliness of a world which had seemed so hostile. Both again rejoice with the joy of a quiet conscience, and of association with the company of the saints. Both, too, have an other-worldly note; they are men who feel that they "have overcome the world." But here a sharp contrast must be noted. The Buddhist of the Dhammapada has retreated from the world and its misery; he gazes down from his high terrace of wisdom, with something of the superiority of the Epicurean, upon fools below. The Christian of the Beatitudes and of the Sermon on the Mount in general is to remain in the world, to weep with it in its sorrow, to be the salt and leaven, to

bear its burdens.[30] Noble as the Buddhist ethical reform was, it yet fell into the inveterate fallacy of India that the spiritual is different from the moral, that calm is superior to effort, detachment to affection. "Him I call Brahmin who is above good and evil," says the Dhammapada,[31] echoing passages in the Upanishads.

It may well be, too, that actual experience has colored the expression of the two ideals. The calm, almost cold, words of Sakyamuni reflect a life which met with little opposition or danger. His life was very different from that of Jesus and the early Church; even the Brahmins seem to have tolerated him, and some joined his Order, while kings and villagers alike showered hospitality upon him and gifts upon his Sangha, and the records of his life were written down when Buddhism was the chief religion of India and smiled upon by its emperors. The Christian records come from a small and persecuted Church which had begun in a life of continual strain. Through the radiant joy of the Beatitudes we see bloodshed and tears. The sorrows of these men are to be turned into joy only through a tremendous experience which makes the world with its tribulation as well as its rewards "dung" to them. Like the Buddhist they were detached, and yet were set upon establishing a Kingdom of the Redeemed. Their ethic is both a world-renouncing and a world-transforming ethic. Even when they believed that the end was at hand, they busied themselves setting up a society of love and good-will, into which they called whole families. Monasticism was a much later growth. The Sangha on the other hand was a group of celibates which began with the Founder, and whose life of serene detachment has proved very attractive, especially at dark periods. But obviously the vocation to such a life is rare, and men and women have entered it who have been totally unfit for it.

Once we accept it, however, it is a life of health, bodily and spiritual, though both in a negative sense: it is a life of poverty which is true wealth and a life of calm refusal to accept the world's standards. It is "a life of vigil in a

sleeping world." [32] Its central occupation is samadhi, meditation or recollection, and this is the analogue of prayer in Christianity. It is the sword of the spirit: "It is by samadhi," says Buddhaghosa, "that we war upon evil feeling and conquer tanha." [33] By it the mind is unified and the will braced. Here is a contrast as well as a comparison; the early Buddhist draws his strength from himself, the early Christian from Another. Buddhist history is an impressive proof that the latter is the more natural and human way. Religion cannot thrive apart from Grace. Most men cannot find the strength they need in themselves.

A favorite summary of early Buddhist ethics in this: "Cleave to the good, reject the evil, purify your inmost thoughts." How simple it sounds, yet who can attain to it? "Blessed are the pure in heart," says Jesus, "for they shall see God." For most men it is only the expulsive power of the love of God which can do this cleansing work. The Buddhist realizes that the ascent is steep and strikes a note of strenuous endeavor: "Zeal is the way of life." [34] He makes much of courage, of patience, of long-suffering. Sakyamuni is surgeon as well as physician, and his cures are often drastic: "Cut out the root of evil." [35]

To call this an anaesthetic is vain; there is much that is admirable in Buddhist ethics, much indeed which reaches as lofty a height as Stoicism can. Unable to believe in a Supreme Father, early Buddhism went as far as it could in the direction of human brotherhood, admitting all of good will to the Sangha, and redefining Brahmin and Kshatriya.

To what motives does it appeal. Its chief appeal is to reason. A monk is tempted to anger with a brother; he cannot say he is a child of God; or as the Christian could say, "a brother for whom Christ died." So he sits down "recollectedly," and with the anatomic or analytic mind reflects: "This brother with whom I am angry, what is he? He is bones, flesh, ligaments, juices. I am angry with him no more." This is stoicism. The early Buddhist said,

with Marcus Aurelius, "Decay is the substance of all things: nothing but water, dust, bones, stench." The fair form of woman was subjected to the same searching analysis. Disgust is used as a motive to detachment.

A more human motive was that all are pilgrims in the toils of samsara, that all must be treated as fellows. And Buddhism has this great merit, that it remembers the humble animal world as its little brothers, who also love life;[36] even the snakes are to be surrounded with an atmosphere of friendliness and compassion. This is the doctrine of ahimsa. The monk is to be as a bee visiting a flower, obtaining his livelihood from the community, but harming it not at all. The true warrior, let him worry none; the true conqueror, let him conquer himself;[37] the true Brahmin, let him be a nobleman indeed. Sakyamuni, like Jesus, redefines old terms, and so far as he is concerned with the reform of society does so by setting up a new scale of values. There is a note of paradox therefore in both teachers, and at times a note of irony. Whether Sakyamuni openly attacked the Brahmins or not, he did so continually by implication. "The true Brahmin," he would say, "is not so because of race or birth, but because of obedience to the Dharma."[38]

Monastic as the early movement was, much of its spirit was caught up and liberalized by the great Asoka, who made its ethic, in a simplified and humanized form, the foundation for a very great empire and a new internationalism. His lay ethic is nearer to the Christian ideal than that of the Sangha, and it is possible that the great monarch was truer to the spirit of Sakyamuni himself than the monks who have edited the Pali Canon, and are perhaps responsible for the austere note and the rather cold aloofness of much of its teaching. Where they represent the Master as calling men to earnest endeavor in the monastic life, Asoka interprets his Dhamma as a call to the strenuous life in the world: "Let small and great exert themselves" is his rallying cry.[39] Yet Asoka made the Sangha very powerful, and if he did not take the robe was a close associate of the monks.

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Of the humanity of Jesus there is no question. His first sermon was on a text from the social teachings of Isaiah, and He is at once heir and fulfilment of the great prophets of Israel. Opposition began on account of His companionship with the sinful and the despised. His ethic as set forth in the Sermon on the Mount may be intended for the inner circle, yet it is essentially a lay ethic. He calls men to be brotherly, and to lose their life in self-emptying service. Service to the least of the brethren is service to their Lord, and they are to be perfect as God is perfect.[40] Here is a reflection of the high resolve of Jesus to show forth God's true nature in a perfect human life, as an embodiment of the Suffering Servant of Isaiah. God is a loving Father, and can only be revealed in a society of brotherly men.

The Christian ethic then is natural and spontaneous. It is the response of loving and grateful human hearts to the Divine Love, and it centers in the Son of Man, who by being perfect man revealed the true nature of God. The ethics of the Lotus and of the Gita are fruits of a movement within Buddhism and Hinduism in this direction, an attempt to vindicate the lay ethic of the Bhagavata movement on the one hand, and of the liberal Mahayana on the other. But the nerve of both is cut alike by the Karma doctrine which both accept, and by the tendency to explain away the God-man as an apparition. From the reality of Jesus and the Father as Persons flows the transforming ethic of the Gospel. Jesus is in the ethical realm also Son of God and Son of Man. And as the Father's love flows out in continuous blessing, so is man to be a child of God. Jesus condemns those who do not seek opportunity to do good. He welcomes all who show the brotherly spirit.[41] He simplifies ethics and religion alike by calling them love, and binds them in an indissoluble bond. The Hindu belief that man is entangled by good works as well as by evil ones falls strangely upon ears attuned to the Gospel. To be beyond good and evil [42] is to cease to be a person, and personality

is the central concept in ethics as in religion. For Jesus man has infinite value in God's sight, and each must treat his neighbor, that is all others, as of equal value. To offend or oppress any is a deadly sin; even to judge another is wrong.[43] All being children of God, they are to form a family in which the greatest is the most humble and loving.[44] The ethic of Jesus is at once a social and an individual ethic, and in His great concept of the Kingdom of the Father these are reconciled. Men are children of the Father in Heaven, and are answerable to Him for their attitudes to other members of the family. In doing His will they bring in His Kingdom.

The Christian ethic is, in a word, at once more socialized and more searchingly personal than that of Hinduism, or even of liberal Buddhism; it is a Dharma or Norm whose author and inspiration is a Personal God with a passionate interest in human personality, and a respect for it which is the nerve of His own patient dealings with men. He is a democratic King who can be content with nothing less than a world coöperating in glad and uncalculating love.

CHAPTER VIII

THEIR ETHICAL IDEALS

The most plausible evidence which revealed doctrine can give of its truth is the beauty and rationality of its moral corollaries.—GEORGE SANTAYANA.

WHAT is man in these three books? He is for all alike "a paradox of blended angel and demon," whose duty is to realize the higher self. But these words mean very different things!

Man is for the Gita in its Sankhya-Yoga moods spirit (purusha), trammeled for a time by his lower nature, yet destined to rise superior to it and realize his identity with the Supreme Spirit: "Let him raise himself toward the Self." [1]

In its theistic passages, he is depicted as a religious being over against his Lord, to worship whom is his highest activity: "knowing Me, Lord of all, lover of all, he reaches Peace." [2]

Again, in other parts which belong to the Vedanta redaction, he is only by illusion a separate being; he is the Atman, and his highest good is to awaken to this fact.

Yet there are demoniac men who refuse the truth and take a materialistic view of human nature. This is the most dangerous of heresies.[3]

The Lotus also rejects any such view. Man, it says, is a son of the Buddha; he is more, he is himself destined to Buddhahood.[4] Yet some men are evil, and ignoring their ultimate destiny refuse the new evangel, in their folly and unbelief. In the last period after his final Nirvana Sakyamuni prophesies that there will arise many foolish wicked ones who with fiendish malice will speak ill of the Sangha, and preach their own heresies.[5] Both books, however, make

it clear that even these perverse beings can become righteous. For the Fourth Gospel man is potentially a child of God; yet he needs to be born again, or from above, and to become partaker of the Logos, and of Light and Life. Yet some men are sons of the Evil One; they choose darkness rather than light and falsehood rather than truth. The Epistle in fact says that the "world lies in the Evil One," [6] and the Prologue of the Gospel suggests that though God has made the world good, men have made it evil.

All three books seem to suggest that some men are fitted to receive light and to find salvation, and some are not. The two Indian Scriptures explain this by the doctrine of Karma: "They have no sufficient merit," says the Lotus. "Men without faith," says the Gita, "fail to reach Me, and turn back along the weary round of death." [7]

The contrast between the Indian view and that of the Fourth Gospel is clearly illustrated by two passages which raise the same problem. In the Lotus we find that a man born blind is accounted for "because he sinned in a former life." [8] The Johannine Christ, faced with the same problem, denies that the blind man has sinned, or that he has suffered for his parents' sin. It is further noteworthy that, in both incidents, there is a parabolic element and a reference to the spiritually as well as the physically blind.

In all these books, man, finding salvation in devotion to his Lord, becomes a lover of man. "He is a friend of all creatures," says the Lotus;[9] and, though Buddhism subordinates ethics to salvation from samsara, it sets forth the noble ideal of the Bodhisattva, detached yet compassionate, "remarking not if his auditor be man or woman," yet "girt with the girdle of forbearance." [10]

The Yogi of the Gita is also to be like his Lord, "regarding with equal view friend and foe." [11] And the Christian of the Fourth Gospel is to be a servant of all, loving man as his Lord has loved him.[12]

It is remarkable that in all these books the ideal is expressed as "a victory over the world." Yet the meaning is various. In the Upanishads he who overcomes the world

is he who knows the Atman; in the Gita he who through devotion to Krishna escapes samsara is described as overcoming the world, by escaping existence in it.[13] He who overcomes the world in early Buddhism is the disciple, and in later Buddhism the worshiper, of Sakyamuni. "Who shall overcome this world? My disciple," says the Dhammapada.[14] And the Lotus shows us the charming picture of the Bodhisattva who has reached the Far Shore of Nirvana, remote from the world, yet tarries awhile in the world to preach. In him there is much of the Christian ideal; he overcomes the world by remaining in it, "not caring for his own life," "patient, meek, devoted," "winning sinners from its false lures," himself "unsullied as a pure lotus growing in the mud."

In the Gospel and Epistle he who overcomes the world is the man who believes that Jesus is the Son of God; "our faith, that is the victory that overcometh the world." [15] The believer is "begotten of God and does no sin." [16] Like the Gita, these books lay stress upon bhakti; like the Upanishads upon mystical union with Reality. Communion with God is their aim, and ethical teachings are subordinate to this. In Gospel, Lotus, and Gita alike, the ethical is the fruit of their mysticism; but the ideal of conduct varies with the ideal of Reality.

The Yogi, the Bodhisattva, the Child of God—these are the "true men" of these books. In all these ideals a large part is played by devotion to the Lord. This is symbolized in the Gospel by Mary anointing the feet of Jesus; in the Lotus by the little boys who build a pile of stones to honor Sakyamuni: "Even children who in play pile up little heaps in devotion to Buddha, even they attain Buddhahood." In the Gita it is symbolized by the offering of a simple gift to Krishna: "Whoever in love offers Me leaf or flower or fruit, that gift of the self-controlled I accept." [17]

Such expressions of single-hearted devotion must be accompanied by obedience. "Ye are my friends if ye do that which I command you," says the Johannine Christ. "Knowing me as Lord of all worlds and Lover of all, man attains

peace," says Krishna. "I govern the world as King of the Law, benign and compassionate," says Sakyamuni.[18]

The chief reward and the chief inspiration of all these worshipers is the mystical presence of their beloved Lord: "Where the son of Buddha has tarried, there am I"; "If a man love me, he will keep my words . . . and we will make our abode with him"; "those who worship me dwell in me and I in them." [19] The followers of all three Lords are seen approaching them with absolute devotion and utter humility, and these lead on to spiritual insight or intuition, that mystical knowledge which plays so important a part in all three books. "The man of faith . . . gains knowledge, and having gained knowledge comes quickly to Bliss," says Krishna. "Whoso wishes for Buddhahood and aspires to knowledge of the Supreme must honor those who keep this law . . . as if they were the Lord himself," says Sakyamuni. "If ye keep my words, ye shall know the truth," says the Christ, "and the truth shall make you free." [20]

His notable words, "I am the Way, the Truth and the Life," [21] suggest a progress in religious experience. We accept certain truths on authority; we find that they work and are capable of explaining experience; and we come to know that which before we took on trust, becoming in the process new men. Something of this progress we find in early Buddhist thought: "The City of Righteousness of the Milinda Pañha is founded on pillars of faith and rises to a high terrace of knowledge." [22] In the Lotus men attain Truth by devotion to the Buddha. The Gita has also a careful gradation of stages, in which however man passes from action to intuitive knowledge (jñana), and from jñana to that whole-hearted, loving faith (bhakti) which is the way of ways. Its ethical like its theological ideal is more complex and confused than that of the other books. Calm detachment is an ideal springing from its view of the Actionless Brahman; active service an ideal springing from its theism; while its Sankhya doctrine leaves man with the nerve of his morality cut by the keen edge of its dialectic: prakriti alone is responsible.

The moral life which is the fruit of religious experience is simpler, loftier, and more clearly depicted in the Gospel and Epistle than in the Gita and Lotus; it is love manifested by man to men in grateful response to the Divine love: this is the new commandment "that ye love one another as I have loved you." This is the essence of the ethical teachings of the Gospel and Epistle; and while the other books have something of it, their love is detached and aloof compared with that of the Christian ideal. "Before the inevitable there is no room for pity."

The Christian is to put on the girdle of love; the Buddhist and Hindu that of forbearance and detachment. The ideal of Mahayana Buddhism has considerable kinship with that of Christianity. It makes much of compassion, of meekness and long-suffering; but it has a still closer kinship with that of the Gita in its central emphasis upon detachment and a certain Stoic apathy. Yoga is defined as samvatam, or "equability," "poise."

This is the Buddhist upekha: "From Tanha arises suffering," is the teaching alike of all schools of Buddhism. "Therefore," says the Lotus, "seek in detachment to suppress desire"; and the ethic of the Gita is much influenced by Buddhism. There are passages alike in Lotus and Dhammapada in which the sage is seen looking down from the terrace of wisdom upon the ignorant multitude below; and these are expanded in the Gita: "He who whose soul delights in wisdom and knowledge, who has gained the mountain top . . . beholds no difference between a wise and virtuous Brahmin, a cow, an elephant, a dog, or a pariah." [23] If we did not remember the central thesis of the Gita, we might be tempted to see in this an attack upon caste, and indeed it may be the remnant of some earlier passages of the Bhagavata original. Yet as it now stands it is rather the ethical reflex of a monism which teaches that Brahman is above good and evil, and that he is in the gambler at his dice as he is in the saint at his meditation; as much in the doubting Arjuna as in the confident Vasudeva, in the scepter of the conqueror and the silence of the monk.[24]

Buddhism scores a signal triumph over Vaishnavism in its complete ignoring of the caste duties of the warrior, to which the Gita pays so much attention. A recent Hindu writer confesses that he finds in Buddhism an effective antidote against caste, "which is upheld and glorified in many Brahmanist books, like the Code of Manu and the Bhagavad-gita." [25] And many an Indian social reformer and pacifist finds himself sorely embarrassed by his own Scriptures. Greatest of these reformers is Sakyamuni, who redefined the warrior as "he who worries no one"; and the Brahmin as the man of lofty character. The ideal of the Bodhisattva reveals the universality of Buddhism; he is the friend of all creatures, the truly strong man whose strength is benevolence and compassion, and who is girt with forbearance. The patimokkha of early Buddhism is the code for the monk, and the word means "breastplate" or "cuirass"; for Buddhism like Christianity seeks to sublimate the heroic and romantic in man, and calls him to a new chivalry.

The following are typical expressions of the ideal of the Bodhisattva; and others will be found in the Appendix:

"Call thyself coward, thy Friend call Hero: let his words of counsel be thine armory, and thine own good deeds the routing of the foe." "May I be medicine to the sick . . . their physician and nurse . . . a guide for the lost, a ship to the voyager, a lamp in darkness, a couch to the weary." [26] Here we find a sublimation of the heroic ideal, and a substitution of ethics for metaphysics which is very impressive. The devotee of Krishna may confine himself to his caste duty, rejoicing to know that he is the Atman; the Buddhist is to live out a practical advaitism by being all things to all men. It is sad that so noble a concept is largely nullified even in Buddhism, by the insistence that all such deeds of service are laukika or "mundane," until they are enlightened by the knowledge of the emptiness (sunyata) of the world, of the doer and his deed, when they become lokuttara, or "perfumed" with an other-worldly fragrance.

This however is for philosophers, and to the masses the

EVANGELICAL
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

figure of this noble servant of mankind has been an incentive not wholly unworthy of comparison with the Christian saint. Yet even in the Lotus the intercourse of the Bodhisattva with men is narrowly circumscribed; the old arhat ideal still overshadows it.[27] The Gita also shows the strong influence of this inveterate asceticism in its doctrine of detachment, but it is precisely that which most inspires Mahatma Gandhi, and it has noble passages which have been an inspiration to other Indian servants of humanity, who like the rest of us often take lines out of their context and read into them what they desire to find there. The godlike man is described in the Gita as "fearless, upright, harming none, truthful, unresentful, compassionate to all beings, gentle, forgiving, humble."[28]

It is difficult to reconcile such a list with the emphasis laid upon the duties of the warrior. In fact, the doctrine of ahimsa here set out is in conflict with the caste duties prescribed for the kshatriya. Another passage describes these duties: "the natural works of the kshatriya are heroism, fire, fortitude, presence of mind, courage, liberality, noblesse."[29] These are evidently qualities which make a good soldier; over against them are set those of the Brahmin, which are "restraint in spirit and in sense, austerity, purity, patience, uprightness, wisdom, knowledge and faith." The other two castes are rather summarily dismissed: "the natural works of Vaisyas are ploughing, cattle-breeding and commerce, and of Sudras the natural work is service." Perhaps without being overcritical we may say that these lists are somewhat legalistic compared with the simplicity of the Johannine code, and somewhat aristocratic and haughty compared with the teaching of Jesus in such acted parables as the washing of the feet of His disciples. Gandhi, devoted as he is to the Gita, said recently to a flatterer who told him that he had the great qualities alike of Brahmin and Kshatriya: "I wish you had said 'Of the Sudra.'" In the Lotus we find more of this spirit of service: "I am a bounteous giver, do ye follow my example. Imitate Me and pay your debt to the Buddhas."[30] The greatest is

to be like his Lord, the servant of all, not in the full New Testament sense, but as a preacher of the good news; and in doing his work he is to be uncomplaining as a good servant, "a very sweeper for humility." Here we may surely see a bold thrust at the Gita, which dismisses the Sudra in a curt sentence, and ignores the outcaste sweeper.

We have already seen that the Gita insists that "it is better to do one's own duty imperfectly than to attempt that of another, even if one bring it to success." [31] The duty of the warrior is to fight, but to do it with a detached spirit. There is something of permanent value in such teaching, if it be divorced from nationalism and war, and applied, as India tends to apply it, to other parts of life. The Christian will not wholly condemn the caste system, but its abuses are manifest. He will acknowledge also that India is nearer to the pacifism of Jesus than is Christendom. It may be that a naturally pacific temper has sought a corrective in the teachings of the Gita. Yet all men of goodwill must face the urgent problem of the world's peace and agree upon a philosophy of peace. There is no compromise in the teachings of Jesus: "He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword." We remember with shame how many of us tore from its context that other word, "I am come, not to send peace, but a sword." But this word has also its message to India. To accept Christ is to break caste and to be dead to one's family. Thus Christianity necessarily finds itself calling men to crucifixion no less in the family than in the nation. Before this uncompromising challenge of the Christ the arguments of Krishna to Arjuna sound worldly. All men will know his shame; and after all if he wins in battle, he will rule others; if he dies, he will be reborn in heaven. Then there follows the old insidious argument that death is better than dishonor, and that the cause is a just one. These arguments are backed up by the assertion that there is no such thing as death, and that he who slays slays not, and this vedantic motive is reënforced —or contradicted, if one's critical faculties are awake—by the Sankhya argument that what a man does is done not by

himself but by prakriti, or "Nature." [32] It is to the credit of Buddhism that it brushed aside all these sophistries. These are stock arguments, even if they do not always take this Indian form, and like many other problems raised by these three books, this is one that is always with us.

The Lotus has nothing of nationalism in it. It is like the Gospel in its universalism, and in its emphasis on the loving Spirit which is friendly to all. Yet it agrees with the Gita in its emphasis on detachment, in acceptance of the doctrines of samsara and of karma, which hang like a dark pall over them, numbing the nerve of their moral aspiration, and weakening the concept of personality both in God and man.

These books agree in finding man's chief enemy in tanha, or "craving." The Christian will agree that it is selfishness which is at the bottom of most of the world's troubles, but he cannot accept the ruthless range of Indian asceticism, which condemns as tanha, or "thirst," those bonds which are of the very essence of human society, and which Jesus sublimates into the graces of the Kingdom of God, a human family of love and good-will.

It is against tanha that Krishna and Sakyamuni enjoin a continual warfare of the spirit. Here is the true "conquest" of Asoka; here, perhaps, the real battlefield of Kurukshetra. "He who is detached has pulled up the rivets of rebirth:" "Like water from the lotus leaf drop off his cares who subdues this sordid mighty tanha," says the Dhammapada.[33] The Lotus echoes it in such passages as this: "Craving is the root of pain; seek ye ever to live detached and conquer it";[34] and the Gita in turn seems to be quoting it: "As the lotus leaf is not wetted by water, so is he not touched by sin who acts without attachment." "He who abandons craving and is detached . . . with no thoughts of I or mine, attains to peace." [35] "In him is wisdom made perfect, who, like the tortoise withdrawing its limbs into its shell, removes his senses from the lures of sense." [36] Even in this layman's Upanishad the old Yogi ideal is very prominent.

All Indian religion emphasizes Vairagya, "desirelessness," and Sannyasa, "renunciation." Appeal to the doctrine

of merit and other lower motives is also freely used.[37] And in any case the question must be asked, is detachment so noble an ideal after all? Is the struggling, weary soul at the lower levels of Hindu and Buddhist morality not a higher type than the aloof and serene yogi, sannyasi, arhat, or even bodhisattva? "In spite of our efforts," says the Vedantist, "the world will always be the same on the whole; it is an impertinence to seek anything but one's own salvation. There is great spiritual danger in thinking that the world is in need of our help." [38]

While Lotus and Gita both modify the Karma doctrine, its benumbing hand is still upon them; the world lies even for them so wholly in the toils that detachment becomes a necessity as well as a virtue. To what extent did the new doctrine of divine grace succeed in annulling the older view? It is certainly less stark a Karmic doctrine that we find in them. "As a man acts so will he be reborn," [39] say the Upanishads; and early Buddhism accepts this with modifications: "Here and hereafter the fool mourns, knowing the vileness of his deeds. Not in the sky nor in the mid-ocean, nor in mountain cave can a man find sanctuary from his sins." [40] Retribution is described as sure and relentless as "the conquering might of death." The Gita seeks to modify this doctrine of the Upanishads, and the Lotus to supersede that of the earlier Buddhists: "Even though he be a doer of exceeding evil, who worships Me with undivided devotion, he shall be deemed good; for he is of right purpose," says Krishna; and the Lotus holds out the promise of Buddhahood even to the arch-traitor Devadatta.[41] The new bhakti is in fact at war with the old karma.

Yet these are isolated passages, admitted within the structure of the books rather than new wine allowed to burst the old wine-skins. An ethical theism and a sound ethic are indeed incompatible with the karma doctrine. In Krishna's love for his devotee, and in the divine compassion of the Buddha, we may see the germs of a more spiritual religion and of a nobler ethic. Here is a leaven which might seem destined to leaven the lump. But in both books there is

much that has not been leavened. In the full acceptance of caste, for instance, in the Gita, and in the explanation of the Buddha's attainment in the Lotus, central and vital doctrines, there is ample evidence that neither Scripture has yet transcended this inveterate obsession of the Indian mind.

That India's own mind and conscience revolt against it is clear; Mukti and Nirvana are synonyms for escape from it, but any hope of transforming the world is beyond the ken of either Hinduism or Buddhism. The effect of all this on their ethical systems is that they aim rather at setting men free from samsara than at setting them free for service, and that they are legalistic in the extreme. With regard to this point it will suffice to quote Professor Royce: "Legalists do not succeed in reducing the laws they teach to any rational unity." Heroic efforts to do this are found in the Gita and the Lotus. "Ye are my children," is the message of both Lords. Yet the Lotus gives us a picture of a Father disciplining his prodigal son for twenty years, before on his deathbed he makes himself known, whereas the Father in the parable of Jesus relies upon his loving-kindness to do its own work of discipline. Here nevertheless is a promising basis for the transcending of Law, and its subordination to the divine purposes. But these books attempt to reconcile rather than to supersede. As Saul of Tarsus knew only too well, though he was indeed a child of Abraham, the bondage of the Law remained; and it was a bitter bondage until he surrendered to the Divine Love. In a word bhakti cannot be set side by side with the karmic Law. One or the other has to yield, and we find in Gita and Lotus the restlessness of the Indian heart and conscience with a doctrine which they could not yet throw off. Because it satisfied their intellect, it was retained.

The Gospel is first and foremost practical. Its message to the intellect is given on condition of obedience. Its Christ claims to set His friends free from the bondage of sin and the world, that they may serve God and man in the world. He claims also to put into their hands a key which will unlock the riddle of the world.

Krishna offers union with himself as the be-all and end-all of his religion. The devotee is raised above all moral duties. Yet the books are striving to get away from this position, and to give guidance for conduct in everyday life. That is the chief glory of the Gita, and it is shared by the Lotus. The ideal of the Bodhisattva is held up to all such as remain in the world and abstain for the present from entering the passionless calm of Nirvana. But this world is in both books illusive and unreal, and in the long run Buddhist idealism arrives at the absurdity that one is to serve one's neighbor as if he were real, and that one's knowledge that he is not gives one's service its true "perfume." Buddhism again never gets away from the egoistic motive; even the noble Bodhisattva is to serve others because he thus serves himself. The Gita presents us with a monistic version of this: there is only one Self; whoso serves his neighbor serves this Self and it is his own true self. Dhammapada and Gita both tell us that "self is the friend of self"; and of course they mean something quite different. The former means that self-help is the only help available; the latter means that the Supreme Self is the only self, and that it is one's best friend. In later Buddhism the same words are used with still another meaning. Thus Santideva asks, "How shall I best serve myself?" and answers, "By cleaving to the true Self." Here is a kind of Buddhist Vedanta; the Buddha has become the true Self of all his devotees.

As we saw above, there may be an element of advaitism in some of the mystical sayings of the Johannine Christ: "I am the Vine, ye are the branches: I in you and ye in Me." But there is this vital difference, that the mystical element is never separated in the Fourth Gospel from the ethical; indeed it is subordinated to it. The unity which Christ gives with the Father and with other men is given that His disciples "may bear much fruit." It is a "dynamic fellowship" more real to our age than any unity of substance. Here as elsewhere the Logos doctrine is subordinated to religious experience, the metaphysical to the practical; the

Gospel realizes that the truest unity is to be found in the central fastnesses of the will. The very unity which the Eternal Christ has with the Father is a unity of coöperation: "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work."

Here is the key to the culminating scenes of the Gospel. The Cross is borne by Jesus as a voluntary act of self-emptying in complete coöperation with the Father, and His atoning work has no shadow of legalism about it. We feel when Pilate cries, "Behold the Man," that the author intends us to see in this unconscious testimony a tribute to the one man in all history who has completely done the Father's will; and the resurrection seems to be at once a natural sequel to so divine a life, and a final proof that human life has as its chief meaning the victory of the spirit over matter. Over against this Divine Man, free in a universe which is His Father's house, we may set Krishna, himself still in the toils of Karma and bound in the fetters of Pantheism, and Sakyamuni confessing that his incarnations are unreal, and that the world itself has no abiding meaning. Viewing them as set over against their central lesson of detachment, we may glory in the Christian view of love as the reconciling principle of all ethics. "Love," says St. Augustine, paraphrasing St. Paul, "is the most comprehensive of all virtues. It suffers long, and is meekness. It is kind, and is then courtesy. It envies not, and is peace. It vaunts not itself, and is modesty. It seeks not its own, and is public-spirited. It bears all things, and is fortitude. It believes all things, and is faith; hopes all things, and is magnanimity: and as it never fails, it is Christian perseverance." "Love is indeed, as St. John teaches us, the great hierophant of the Christian mysteries." [42] It is at once the motive, the guide, and the crown of the Christian life. And that love, to be fruitful, must be sacrificial, is now becoming clear to Indian thought. It has been challenged by the wonderful life of Mahatma Gandhi, and is voiced by the great poet Rabindranath Tagore. "Make my love fruitful in service," is his prayer to a God who is very Christlike, and as the twentieth century dawned, he spoke prophetic

words of the coming clash between the nations, and breathed another prayer which reveals a deep insight into the sources of spiritual and ethical power:

> Come, Peace, thou daughter of God's own great suffering,
> Come with thy treasure of contentment, the sword of fortitude,
> And meekness crowning thy forehead.[43]

CHAPTER IX

THEIR DOCTRINAL HERITAGE AND TEACHING

Who shall separate us from the love of God?

We may now bring our discussion to a head with a brief summary of the doctrine of God, of man, of the world, and of the purpose of life as set forth in these three books. Each interprets in its own way the doctrinal heritage which it seeks at once to safeguard and to liberalize.

The teaching of the Synoptic Gospels upon these great themes is a sublimation of the best in Hebrew thought. Expressed very briefly, it is as follows: God is a Person, with a supreme regard for persons. He is a Father, and all men are His children. He has no favorites, but makes His sun to shine upon the just and the unjust. His love is so unfailing that no man is beyond its reach. He Himself is very near to all, and answers prayer which is unselfish and true to the spirit of Jesus.

This doctrine of God's loving-kindness is summed up in St. Paul's hymn of love, and in the simple but profound statements of the Fourth Evangelist: "God is Spirit," and "God is love." [1] The first proclaims that God is no localized Being, but is universal: "Neither in this mountain nor in Jerusalem." The second declares that God's essential nature is love, love so profound that He gave His only Son for the world.[2] Here we see the sublime heights at which the thought of the Evangelist habitually moves; he carries to its fulfillment the higher range of Pauline theology: "Who shall separate us from the love of God?" For both great thinkers develop a cosmic Christology, the living core of which is their own experience of this love of God in

Christ. The Logos, one with God from all eternity, is self-giving love; and man is a child of God whom He seeks to win to his true heritage.

For the rest we may note the emphasis of the Fourth Gospel on God's ceaseless activity as Creator and as Father [3] (i. 3, v. 17), upon His truth and holiness (xvi. 13; xvii. 11), and upon the communion which He offers with Himself (xiv. 16-17; xvii. 3). The sublime summary, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father," takes us to the heart of the matter. God is only known to us as we find Him in Christ (xiv. 9-11, x 14-15) Knowing Him men are truly sons of God, and no longer orphans (i. 12, xiv. 18).

In his view of man the Evangelist is less legalistic than St. Paul: "According to Paul we secure for Christ's sake the right of the child (*kindesrecht*); according to John we secure through Christ the nature of the child (*kindeswesen*)." [4] The Johannine view is nearer perhaps to the spontaneity of the Synoptic Jesus, who bids his followers be perfect in love as their Father is perfect; but it is also clear that for the Evangelist man's sonship is only attainable by the new birth. Both he and St. Paul develop the teaching of the Synoptists that when man "comes to himself" he returns to his Father. The Divine Grace is always yearning to receive him; the angels rejoice over him. Yet he needs repentance, and must be born again "unto Eternal Life."

Perhaps we may see in the Johannine picture of Jesus breathing on His disciples and saying, "Receive ye the Holy Spirit," a symbolic picture of man's new birth. For St. Paul Jesus is the second Adam. For the Evangelist all who receive the gift of the Spirit are Adams of the New Order.

Yet the New Testament as a whole faces the fact of human sin, and the Cross is its comment on it. It costs God no less than this to win men from sin to righteousness. He reconciles them to Himself by this poignant portrayal of His eternal heart of love. As St. Paul says, "God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself," and the Fourth Gospel sums this up in the great words, "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto Me." For man *is* a child of God,

and though he may be deep in the mire of sin, he will yet respond to this agony of patient love. "I will draw *all* men unto me. . . ." These great words are either the words of Jesus spoken with prophetic insight, or they are words of the Evangelist which summarize the experience of a century. The Cross, as St. Paul saw, was "the power of God and the wisdom of God." "To the Jews an offense and to the Greeks foolishness," it yet gave to the world a new ideal of God and of man. This divine Sufferer came into the disciplined world of Rome, into the legalistic world of the Jews, and into the artistic world of the Greeks with strange and revolutionary power. He shocked them all, and yet laid a spell upon them; he charmed their ears with words of perfect beauty, and arraigned their consciences with a masterful touch till from the Cross He began to challenge the Caesars and the Apollos of that tolerant world, and even to give new meaning and value to the God of the Hebrews. Here was the very paradox of God.

Something of all this is reflected in the Jesus of the Fourth Gospel. To the rationalist Nicodemus we find Him teaching the mystical doctrine of the new birth; over against the balance and harmony of the Greeks he sets the doctrine of sacrifice—the wheat must die to live; and as against the blasphemous cult of the emperors he stands revealed as the only true God. Religion attracts us almost in proportion to its dissimilarity from our natural temperament. The aggressive and warlike races are to-day followers of the loving Nazarene; the mild Hindu of the warlike Krishna! Yet this is but a half truth. The Cross attracted even while it repelled the ancient world, by appealing to its higher self. The legalistic mind of the Hebrew came gradually to see in it righteousness satisfied by love; the artistic Greek found here a new and more arresting drama; the Roman a nobler Stoicism. Here heroism and love are seen hand in hand, and to all alike there came the revelation of a Law dimly apprehended in so many of life's fairest domains, the law of sacrifice. They learned with Wordsworth:

With soul
Fixed on the Cross, that consolation springs
From sources deeper far than deepest pain.

Those who believe that early Christianity influenced the Gita and the Lotus do not explain how it came that these books, with their emphasis on bhakti, show no trace of the influence of the Cross, which is the central thing in the Gospel. We see them feeling about for just such a doctrine. Buddhism was building up its long list of Jatakas, many of which are stories of sacrificial life. Over some of these might be written the words of the Fourth Gospel, "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friend"; but there is no such legend as, "I if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me," and no thought-out doctrine of atonement. All that we have is that the merit of these sacrifices abounds for the faithful; and Buddhism is at this stage on the verge of a doctrine of salvation by faith. If the Fourth Gospel had reached India at this stage of its Buddhology, its influence would be as evident in the realm of ideas as that of the Greeks in the realm of sculpture, and the Cross could not have failed to leave its impress.

Hinduism, too, needed the Cross; and we see Saivite theologians feeling for it in the myth of Siva, who to save the other gods drank a deadly potion; to-day his devotee gazes on his blackened throat as the Catholic upon the "wounds of God." The Gita has some leanings toward such a doctrine: Vasudeva-Krishna works unselfishly for this world; "Vishnu is the sacrifice" who gives himself in utter selflessness; "Brahman is the deed of sacrifice; Brahman is the oblation" (iv. 24); "I am the offering: I the sacrifice" (ix. 16). Lorinser indeed sees in this passage sure proof of Christian influence; but it must be understood in the light of the Brahmanas, where sacrifice is an act of mysterious power. It has no sense of self-sacrifice, which is the connotation of the Christian use of the word. Yet it may well be that here are doctrines awaiting their historic embodiment in the Son of Man; though the Johannine doctrine that God's essential nature—His glory—is suffering

finds here no place, Krishna's incarnation being itself lila.

K. M. Banerjea, the first Bengali convert baptized by Dr. Duff, called upon his people to see in Christ the fulfilment of the Lord foreshadowed in the Vedas: "The Lord of Creation who offered himself a sacrifice for the sake of the gods and who initiated the sacrificial rites as a 'reflection' of himself." [5] A later Saivite poet, almost certainly influenced by Christianity, sings of Siva:

> Thou mad'st me thine; didst fiery poison eat,
> That I might eat with Thee the food of heaven,
> I, meanest one, O Thou Compassionate! [6]

India, like the rest of the religious world, knows her need of redemption; and it may be that the offense of the Cross will meet her deepest needs as it has met those of other lands.

Yet by itself it is a tragedy almost unrelieved, except as a sublime witness to human magnanimity, endurance, and singleness of purpose. The early Church understood it only in the light of the Resurrection, which is as central in the apostolic teaching. They see in this stupendous event the vindication of God's righteousness, as of the obedience of the perfect Man. Read in the light of these great events, human life assumes a new meaning. It is the drama of a world travailing and groaning to produce the sons of God. Human life is part of a larger whole, a foretaste of the life to come, and men belong to a Kingdom of God already realized in part, and to be consummated hereafter. This teaching of the Synoptics the Fourth Gospel summarizes: "This is Life Eternal, that they may know Thee and Me." It is a life of friendship with God begun now, and continued in the world to come. Man as a child of the Eternal is bound by no legal code; in the Synoptics Jesus summarizes all the commandments under the great law of love, and the Fourth Gospel replaces the view of the Law as "lightening every man" [7] by its doctrine of the Logos, which is an inner guide to freedom and truth: "Ye shall know the Truth, and the Truth shall make you free."

Christianity gave to the world in short a new conception of God, of man, and of their relationship. Its view of the material world is essentially that of the Hebrews: the world is good not evil. Yet men too often spoil His handiwork, and reject His good gifts. "The world was made by Him," says the Fourth Gospel, (*i.e.* the Cosmos), "Yet the world (*i.e.* men) knew Him not." Man has refused to bring His creative purpose to fruition. Christianity faces the problem of evil with fearless realism. And the Fourth Gospel, viewing sin as disloyalty, reveals a Christ who is Judge as well as loving Savior. We see Him at work sending not peace but a sword; and, though these words have been terribly misinterpreted as a justification of war, yet there is in Christianity a stern note which must not be ignored. Jesus is no poetic dreamer; He is ruthless toward evil, infinitely loving to the sinner. And he calls men to endure greater suffering than Sakyamuni offered them and to a greater heroism than Krishna demanded. For He sees more clearly than they that evil is entrenched in the stubborn will of man. It is not so much ignorance as lawlessness. It is not only "thirst" and "craving," but rebellion against love.

The doctrine of Upanishads and Gita on the great themes of God man and world may be summarized as follows: There is only one Supreme Reality, Brahman-atman, "One without a second." This cannot be expressed in human categories and is usually thought of as impersonal. But there are such passages as those so often quoted by Indian theists: "I have known Him, the Supreme Person"; "Know Him that death grieve thee not."

The theistic portions of the Gita emphasize this aspect of Upanishadic teaching: "Verily in my fullness shalt thou know Me." [8] But there are other passages which are sheer monism, as well as Sankhya passages which are pluralistic. All these claim the authority of the Upanishads; the Gita is itself an Upanishad. For the rest we may say that God is for these ancient thinkers what he is for the Fourth Gospel —Light, Creative Energy and Moral Savior.[9] Yet man has no real separate existence. He "comes to himself," if the

paradox be allowed, by recognizing this. So at least the great Sankara interprets the Upanishads; he is followed by Gough, Max Müller, and Deussen. Against this view E. W. Hopkins protests that there is nothing at all to show that the authors of the early Upanishads held the objective world to be illusion;[10] and Sir R. G. Bhandarkar calls the attitude of these scholars uncritical.[11] The fact is probably that the Upanishads do not contain a consistent philosophy: "thanks to the obscurity as well as the richness, the mystic haze as well as the suggestive quality of the Upanishads interpreters have been able to use them in the interests of their own religion and philosophy." [12] So writes Dr. Radhakrishnan, and we may agree with him that these sublime guesses at truth contain various views of God, the world, and man. These the Gita takes over, but places a new emphasis upon the doctrine of personality in God and man. Yet it does not push this doctrine to its logical conclusion; its God has power only to redeem men from a world which like them is in the bonds of karma and samsara.

As a caterpillar moves from leaf to leaf, so man passes, say the Upanishads, from life to life; and the Gita accepts this view: "One life follows another as childhood, manhood, and old age follow one another." [13] "The Atman clothes itself with ever new bodies as a man puts off one garment and puts on another." [14] The whole purpose of the universe is to awake man from its unreality to the One Reality which is Brahman, or according to Sankhya passages, to set spirits free from the entangling alliance with matter, which is yet the condition of its awakening.

We may perhaps contrast the Gospel and the Gita by saying that for the former redemption is from self-will, while for the latter it is from self; but these generalizations are never very safe, and are often unfair. The Gita undoubtedly in many passages encourages the belief in a personal immortality, and it also offers to help man throw off the bondage of self-will. There, it holds with Buddhism, is the chief enemy.

The Buddhist view indeed has kinship with both the

Christian and Hindu, yet it is less metaphysical than the latter, more agnostic than the former. Early Buddhism maintained that if there is a supreme God He is unknowable; there are many lesser gods who may perhaps be known, but are not worth knowing, being themselves in thrall of karma and samsara. Yet there were elements of a sound theism in the exactness of the workings of karma. The good were rewarded, the evil punished; and Supreme Reality was attainable in the mystical and ethical experience of Nirvana.

Enjoying this, man achieves his true nature, gets rid of the delusion of egoism, and with it is freed from rebirth.

The world is a causal nexus, and man may be free in it and become its master. The Lotus goes beyond all this, and says that the Eternal Sakyamuni is the manifestation of the Supreme Reality, the embodiment and cause of things, and that man realizes his true nature when he becomes a Buddha. The universe exists as the creation of the Eternal Buddha that men may find their true destiny, and man is to help redeem it by his preaching, full of evil and suffering as it is. It is in fact an illusion created in sport, "pithless as the stem of the plantain." [15] To realize this is to be illuminated.

Such in barest outline are the cardinal doctrines of these books. Their vast influence depends partly upon their acceptance of the essence of older religious teaching, but chiefly upon the claim of the central Figure to be the true revelation of the Eternal, of man's destiny, and of the meaning of life. We may therefore set out in schematic form the claims made on behalf of each of them; this more than anything else will illustrate how closely they approximate to one another, and how humanity, being one, has similar spiritual needs in all ages and lands. We see in these amazing claims that man in his highest moments claims to know God; that he clings to his instinctive belief that God is personal, a Divine Father; that religious experience leads him to envisage beyond this life a goal

of freedom and joy and peace; and that finding all this in a Divine-human Figure man expresses his conviction that this God-man has existed from eternity, and that to know Him is to know the unmanifested Reality, to find the life which is life indeed.

Claims of the Three Lords

Gita	*Krishna*
S.B.E., Vol. VIII, p. 58.	Has existed from time immemorial.
p. 87.	Creator of all, God of gods.
p. 59.	Born age after age, self-created.
p. 74.	Creator and destroyer, essence of all.
p. 90.	Time inexhaustible and death.
p. 83.	Father and mother of the universe.
p. 84.	Friend and source, immortality and death.
p. 96.	Pervading the universe.
p. 85.	Alike to all.
p. 74.	Love.
p. 88.	Beginning, middle and end of all, the Self seated at the heart of all.
p. 85.	My worshipers dwell in me and I in them.

Lotus	*Sakyamuni*
S.B.E., Vol. XXI, pp. 299-300.	From the beginning.
p. 87.	Origin of all.
p. 165.	God of gods.
pp. 124.308.	Has passed through many births.
pp. 46.310.	Self-existing.
pp. 76.291.	Creator through maya.
p. 310.	Great physician.
pp. 44.217.	Supreme Spirit.
p. 309.	Father of the universe.
p. 204.	Friend of the world and master.
p. 302.	Great Lord "Mahesvara."
p. 170.	Light of the world.
p. 120.	All-seeing and all-knowing.
pp. 81.310.	Protector of all.
pp. 124.310.	Born when men become unbelieving.

Fourth Gospel and Epistle	*Christ*
Jn. i. 1.	In the beginning. The Logos.
I Jn. i. 1.	Logos of life.
I Jn. iii. 8.	Son of God, manifested to destroy the works of the devil.
Jn. i. 3.	All things came into being through Him.
Jn. x. 30.	I and the Father are one.
Jn. viii. 58.	Before Abraham was I am.
Jn. v. 17.	My Father worketh hitherto and I work.
Jn. xv. 14.	Ye are my friends if ye do that which I command you.
Jn. xv. 5.	I am the Vine, ye are the branches.
Jn. xvi. 33.	I have overcome the world.
Jn. viii. 12.	I am the light of the world.
Jn. xiv. 9.	He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father.
Jn. xvii. 23.	I in them and thou in Me.
I Jn. v. 20, 21.	The Real God.

A glance through these very partial lists of the stupendous claims made on behalf of the three Lords will reveal how great is their similarity. Though E. W. Hopkins [16] and others have sought to prove that the Fourth Gospel, reaching India very early, molded the forms into which the devotion to Krishna was poured, yet it cannot at present be said to be more than a conjecture. We may put together three or four passages in which the debt seems most evident only to see that behind the similarity of words there are differences of doctrine which are profound indeed. The word Lokupitar, "world-father," means many things; and so with other concepts. Thus the sentence, "This is life eternal, that they should know Thee," is compared with Krishna's words, "Whoso knows me . . . is freed from sin." [17] These are natural expressions of monotheistic religion; but eternal life is quite a different conception from freedom from samsara, which is what the Gita has most in mind.

Other parallels reveal nothing more than similar needs. Thus when Christ says, "He that loveth Me . . . I

shall love him"; and Krishna, "I seek them that seek me," [18] this is a simple and natural statement of love between the Lord and the devotee, which may be found in many mystical forms of religion. So far as Gita and Gospel go, we may surely say that it is rather similarity of human needs and of God's provision to meet them than borrowing which is evident. The terminology is similar but not identical; the thought behind it is often different.

When, however, we turn to the Lotus Scripture and compare it with the Gita, there are many identical phrases; and the two books are seen to be intimately related. Krishna and Sakyamuni are both called Devatideva, God of gods and Svyambhu, self-existent; and both are conceived as creating the world through maya; both reveal themselves as protector of the righteous, born again and again to meet human needs, and to establish faith when it is weakening. Both in a word are expressions of a new bhakti which holds out to men the assurance that God is not remote and indescribable, but at hand to succor and heal.

We may sum up the doctrine of the Lotus by saying that Sakyamuni is the almost-eternal Buddha, who has been incarnate in many forms for man's salvation. That of the Gita may be summarized in a similar sentence: Krishna is the preëxistent Blessed One in whom the Absolute is incarnate from time to time to succor men from samsara. Over against this view is that of the Fourth Gospel, akin yet very different; it may be summed up in the words of Cremer: "The Messianic Son of God is the Preëxistent Son of God." The Christ of the Fourth Gospel is incarnate once only, that men may have more abundant life.

ii

Great as are the differences in the central doctrines of these books, it is yet clear from their striking similarities that the needs of human hearts and minds are alike in all ages and lands. Though, as we have seen, similar words do not always connote similar ideas, yet the parallelism between these books is close. While for example the term

"Father" has different connotations in all three books, yet the very fact that this name comes naturally to the lips of the devotee is in itself significant. It is a term by no means easy to the philosopher; and the Fatherhood of God is far from axiomatic.

The claim made in each book that its Lord has existed from the beginning is also remarkable. It is in itself a refutation of adoptionist theories. Religious man rejects emphatically the view of a fellow man raised to the Godhead. He insists that the only Lord worthy of his wholehearted devotion is one who has existed with God from eternity, who is either Creator or Agent in creation, and who has taken human form as Friend and Savior. Different as the God-men are in detail, it is surely noteworthy that starting from very different beginnings all three religions have reached their goal in an ideal Figure, who sums up for them all that they mean by God, and upon whom they lavish the attributes of Godhead. Whether or not we accept the view that it is God himself who has lit the torch which the seers hold up in the darkness, it remains true that it has been a beacon to multitudes for nearly twenty centuries, and that perhaps two-thirds of the human race are to-day receiving light in greater or lesser degree from these three books.

The Lord which each reveals not only "has the value of God" to his devotees; he gives a new value and detail and an enhanced splendor to their conception of the Godhead. The God of the Gita, though ancient paganism stands at his shoulder and the tentacles of monism are about him, is yet an almighty Lord of the universe, a Father who sows the seed from which all come. He is Master of the puppet-show, determining destiny; He becomes incarnate as need arises; He is without selfish attachment, yet seeks the salvation of all.[19] Here there are true aspects of a doctrine of God so noble that many scholars see in it proof of Christian influence. Yet there is no consistent and unified theology; true to its Sankhya affiliations the Gita does not forget that Nature has her dark side, rajas and tamas as

well as sattva; that she is death as well as life, darkness as well as light. Krishna is destroyer as well as creator.[20]

The Sakyamuni of the Lotus has also noble and worthy attributes of the Godhead. Though Buddhism strictly speaking has no doctrine of a Supreme God, yet here the Dharmakaya is revealed in terms of the historic Sakyamuni; he is for practical purposes a God who is self-existent, Father of the world, Friend, Protector, Physician, Teacher. The philosopher may know him to be impersonal; the masses worship him as Father.

The Christ of the Fourth Gospel reveals and is one with a God of love who is best described as a Christ-like God; in Him are Light, Life, and Love. The fact that Christianity is uncompromising in proclaiming His personality and His esteem for persons who as His friends cannot die, is its justification in offering to fulfill the aspirations of Indian hearts as they are revealed in the Gita and Lotus. The Fourth Gospel is the crowning achievement of ethical monotheism. It is suggestive to find that it uses personal pronouns more than three hundred times, or about twice as often as all the Synoptic Gospels together. Its theology and its ethics alike center in personality; and as Troeltsch says, "The Christian ethic alone, on the ground of its personal Theism, has a conception of personality unmarred by naturalism and pessimism. On the ground of its belief in a Divine Love, all-embracing, it alone provides a really indestructible socialism." Asia in its present search for spiritual bases of the new social order is finding in this Gospel a doctrine of God and man which is challenging its interest and respect. For the Johannine Christ it has nothing but the deepest reverence.

The Lotus and the Gita in spite of the supremacy of their central figures are polytheistic; there are many avatars of Vishnu and of Avalokitesvara,[21] and Krishna assures Arjuna that men go to whichever god they worship, that even the poor demon-worshipers go to the demons of their choice.[22]

India again has groaned too long under the weight of

karma and samsara; Gita and Lotus are attempts to escape the burden, but, as we have seen, it still remains a heavy weight even upon them; and to-day the Fatherhood of God is ever on her lips, a doctrine incompatible with these. Grace is superseding Law; the winning of the sinner replacing retribution in her thought.

If man, as these books maintain, is akin to the Divine, he may trust his natural tendency to think of God as a person, and his instinctive belief in a personal immortality. This teaching is unhesitating in the Fourth Gospel; it is denied in the more philosophical parts of the other two books.

In all three books again there is an attempt to make personal devotion, or bhakti, central. The Fourth Gospel uses the word pisteuein, "to believe," about one hundred times, or twice as often as gignoskein, "to know"; and more than the other two books subordinates gnosis, or jñana. This is an expression of the fact that its Lord is more truly historic than theirs, that faith in Him is more central, more reasonable, and at the same time more exclusive. His seven great "I ams" seem to have about them a ring of conviction and truth which we miss in the claims of Sakyamuni and Krishna. It may be objected that it is not historicity so much that tells as the belief of the devotee. This is partly true; yet the Johannine Christ won the devotees of the mystery gods, who all believed in the historic reality of myths which came from the far-off Orient, and which were also easier to believe for being rooted in the remote past. This will happen in India and the Far East if the Church of our day is as wise as that of the early centuries. She will claim them as prophets and forerunners; she will realize that Christianity may well take a more and more Johannine, or even Vedantic form, as it becomes more Indian; and she will never attack but will rather leave it to the Christ Himself to drive out what is unworthy. Krishna and Sakyamuni may indeed, like the Elijah and Moses of the Transfiguration, gain a greater reality by being set beside the Christ. For in Him the

faith of Bhagavatas and of liberal Buddhists is vindicated, and these teachers need no longer admit that it is by maya that God appears to men. They can point to the Divine Word of the Prologue and say, "The Eternal is here revealed in time as a True Person, who while He demands faith in His eternal Sonship, gives knowledge and power to all to become sons." And if some, like the impetuous Peter, now desire to make three tabernacles, we cannot doubt that they will some day learn as he learned that these others are there to worship, not to be worshiped. As the aged Buddha accepts the new truth on the Vulture Peak, as Moses and Elijah accept it on the Mount of Transfiguration, or as the Baptist by Jordan proclaims the Eternal Christ, so these will fall into their place as forerunners.

There are in our time many who are confused by the whole difficult question of indebtedness. Finding the great categories of Love, Life, and Light embodied in all three Scriptures in a divine Figure, they are puzzled, and being without critical training hold that these Scriptures are dependent upon one another. To all such the wise canon of Deissmann may serve as a useful guide: "Where," he writes, "it is a case of inward emotions and religious experiences, and the naïve expression of these in word, symbol and act, I should always try first to regard the particular fact as analogical. Where it is a case of a formula used in worship, a professional liturgical usage, or the formulation of some doctrine, I should always try first to regard the particular fact as genealogical." [23]

Different religions are after all expressions of religion. Man being what he is we may expect to find at higher ranges a doctrine of incarnation bringing the far-off God near, making the unknown real; we may expect to find faith set out as the way of union with Him. These the logic of the heart in her deeper moments demands.

To take another example: as we read the great prayer "From the unreal lead me to the Real," we recognize a universal cry which does not change from age to age or from land to land. All our three books claim to bring men

to Reality. When we read of man's search for the goal of peace and freedom and eternal life, we are again conscious that here a universal need is voicing itself, and a universal experience which may be overlaid with other ideas and will inevitably be interpreted in varying categories. When this experience of peace and reality came to the seer of the Upanishads he cried, "This is Brahman; this is Nirvana." A Sakyamuni experiencing the same peace will declare, "This is the end of tanha and of samsara." A St. Paul having a similar experience of the unified self, of peace after struggle, will interpret it according to his upbringing as a devout Hebrew, as "the peace of God that passeth understanding." A St. John with his Hebrew-Greek training will no less surely express it in terms of Gnosis, of Light, of Eternal Life.

This is of course not to say that all such experience is of equal intensity or of equal value. Still less is it to say that the interpretations are equally trustworthy. It is, however, to say that we must never seek to prove indebtedness on the grounds of general similarity, or even of identity of thought. Humanity is one, and God is the Father of us all.

Here a caution may well be added. The appearance of similarity is often enhanced and sometimes created by the limitations of language. Even the most honest and careful translators of these ancient books can only approximate to the meaning of many important passages, and their attempts are inevitably colored by their own religious upbringing. "Words," says Confucius, "should be made to harmonize with things." It is, like many of his sage sayings, a counsel of perfection; for in the deep things of religious experience it is almost impossible to find words at all, and in translating from one milieu to another mistakes are easy. They become inevitable when the translator has a theory to prove! To take concrete examples: when Edmunds in his *Buddhist and Christian Gospels* put into the mouth of Sakyamuni the words, "I am the light of the world," he as a Pali scholar knows better. The actual

phrase is lokassa cakkhu, or "eye of the world." [24] Again, when a more critical scholar such as Seydel translates the Pali word avekkheyya which means "sees" by the German phrase "hat man im aug," he does so in order to force a parallel with the words of Jesus about the mote in the eye.

When Sir Edwin Arnold renders a passage in the Gita, "Glad in all good they live, knowing the peace of God," which literally means "seeking the well-being of all creatures, and knowing the Atman," it is obviously less fair to criticize, for he is seeking to popularize a great religious poem, and has no thesis to prove. Christian phraseology comes naturally to his lips. Yet as many readers depend for their knowledge of the Gita upon his beautiful version, the warning may be timely.

When all is said, however, the Christ of the Fourth Gospel does not need to be proven original; and originality that is like nothing else is barren indeed. The men whom the Fourth Gospel won in the Roman Empire were won as much by its similarities as by its differences from their beliefs. And they were won by many a differing appeal: "To one man it was the best philosophy, to another the one effective remedy for sin, to another the most imposing of the mysteries which promised immortality, to another merely the one escape from hell fire." [25]

These wise words of a great teacher we may adopt and apply to the devotees of Krishna and Sakyamuni. To some of these the Logos doctrine will make a strong appeal; to others Christ will seem a more powerful Savior from tanha; to others the most splendid of avatars, a Bhagavan purer than Krishna, more real and human than Sakyamuni. And if many look to Him for escape from samsara and for a personal immortality, we surely need not waste time seeking to convince them that there is no samsara. Let us leave them to make that glad discovery for themselves.

The Lotus and the Gita have gone part way to meet these crying needs of various groups; but it is becoming clear

that as India understands more of personality she will find their doctrines less satisfying. It is not too bold to say that for Asia, as for the Western world, the thought of our time must center here: "That religion which shall set the highest value on personality in God and man, and make righteousness, ever more deeply conceived and understood, supreme," [26] will mold the future of the race. The Western world is learning through bitter sorrow that its salvation lies in accepting and applying the teachings of Jesus about God and man; and Asia, as she sees Western civilization seeking how it may preserve itself from destruction, and faces her own problems, is also taking to herself His great lessons. He is Himself becoming her Ideal Figure.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

The glory of Christianity is not to be as unlike other religions as possible, but to be their perfection and judgment.—BENJAMIN JOWETT.

i

THE noble figures of Krishna and Sakyamuni appear as two great moments in the long spiritual history of India, two Himalayan peaks rising from the jungles and mists. Here as in the case of Varuna it would seem that she was on the verge of an ethical monotheism. Yet once again she turned away. Her too tolerant theism was once more absorbed for the learned into her inveterate monism, and for the masses degenerated once more into idolatry and polytheism. The cult of Krishna is idolatrous in the extreme, and the Krishna of the Gita has not had moral personality enough to resist fusion with the lascivious Krishna of the Puranas, or to subdue the teeming gods and demons of popular Hinduism. Mahayana Buddhism also tolerated a pantheon in which noble figures like Amitabha, Vairochana, and Avalokitesvara competed for man's allegiance as "chief of gods." This process is already at work in the Lotus, and at a later stage Sakyamuni was relegated to the position of one among many emanations. In Tibet he is in strange company with demons of the old animism; and in Nepal, his native land, he sits cheek by jowl with Hanuman the ape, and with less reputable figures. Even in Japan and China his cult is not free of evil, and ferocious figures like Fudo are accepted as manifestations of Buddha.

How different is the story of the Christ of the Fourth Gospel. Even with Mithras, in spite of his ethical cult,

his attractive mysteries, his promise of life, his immense prestige with the Roman army—even with him there was no question of compromise. Coming to a tolerant and superstitious world, Christianity rejected all rivals and banished superstition, and where it took over a doctrine or a festival it redeemed and moralized it. The Epistle of St. John ends with the words, "My little children flee idols (or shadows)." The Church had seen and known Reality, and she could not lightly put beside it anything less real. The Christian need not be alarmed at finding that she absorbed some things from the pagan mysteries, for she subordinated them all to her Lord. Her Eucharist alone remains of those ancient mysteries, because there man met his God, and meets Him still. Those who tell us what Christianity took over, whether from Hebrew religion, Greek philosophy, Stoicism, or the pagan cults too often forget to tell us what it refused and rejected. Yet in that process of assimilation and rejection is the proof of the living organism.

While then we look at all that is good and noble in other faiths, we have also to look steadily at the things that are base. The one could live in that Presence; the other fled as mists before the sun. And to-day the followers of Krishna and Sakyamuni are doing what the devotees of Mithras and of Isis did in their day. They are emphasizing as they come into the presence of Christ the things that are worthy, and whatever is unworthy they are hiding or explaining as allegory.

ii

The words of Benjamin Jowett which stand at the head of this chapter are much truer than even he knew. Since they were written immense progress has been made in the study of religion, and we are able to-day to compare Christianity not only with the great religions of Greece and Rome, of which he was mainly thinking, but with the greater religions of Asia. It was clear when he wrote that Christianity had long since shown itself capable of assimilating

the best in Greek and Roman thought, of fulfilling their aspirations, and of judging what was unworthy in them. It has since become clear that it is, in even more remarkable ways, fulfilling and judging the great Asiatic cults. Jesus is indeed the Son of Man, and as the centuries pass fresh light breaks out from this great Name He chose. It was not so surprising that the Gospels should resemble the best things in the Graeco-Roman world, which was their historic setting and to which their authors belonged. It is most significant and arresting that two thousand years later they are found to be akin to the best things of Asia. Here is a corrective to much loose talk about "borrowing."

It is with the best that we must compare them, not with the worst as is so often done: and we must seek to be accurate as well as tolerant. Our age, scientific as it is, is in great danger on the one hand of unfairly taking the best of our own religion and comparing it with the worst in others, and on the other of the facile generalization that all teach the same thing.

The task of scientific evaluation and comparison is a very difficult one. "You cannot really understand another religion unless you become a follower of it," said a distinguished theosophist to me, whilst encouraging me in my attempts to be fair to Buddhists and Hindus. To which I could only reply, "No doubt you are right; and indeed I am amazed at the presumption of Theosophy in claiming to understand not only one religion, but all, and to explain them to their own adherents." We were sitting in a room in which the central shrine was devoted to a very ugly statue of Colonel Olcott, with Madame Blavatsky at his right hand; on the walls were lesser figures of Jesus, Zoroaster, Confucius, Sakyamuni, and other Masters of the spirit; and above them were the symbols of their faith: the Cross, the Wheel, the Crescent, the Lingam stood side by side in an amazing and scandalous frieze. The short and simple dictum

> All rivers lead to the Ocean; all religions to the same goal,

is very crude and quite unscientific; some rivers lose themselves in desert sands. Yet all have some water! Jesus does fulfill the best aspirations of all faiths, but He judges others which are less worthy, and He cannot so naïvely be put side by side with other teachers. Yet we may learn from Theosophy the great lesson of looking for the best; while we do not shut our eyes to degeneration, we must be fair and remember that the vision of God and man given to us in Christ is so splendid that *all* human institutions pale before it, not only the present-day expression of the great ethnic faiths, but also the Christianity of the Churches. We shall then be gentle and we shall try to be fair as we set Christianity over against the ethnic faiths. "When my friend has only one eye I try and see that side of his profile," said a great French critic; let us do that, while we do not forget the other side!

What, then, is Christianity at its best? It is a passionate love for God as He reveals Himself in Jesus Christ; a grateful love for His amazing generosity; a resolute love which does not doubt or fail in times of darkness, and which works itself out in determined fellowship amongst men; a pure love which makes sin detestable, and materialism contemptible; an intelligent love which faces the facts, and yet holds to its radiant belief in that world of Hope and Love which Jesus made real and possible. It is in a word Love triumphant over Death, Sin, and Doubt. The thirteenth chapter of I Corinthians is its greatest hymn, because it keeps closest to the fact of Christ, it embodies most faithfully the life He lived among men, and it gives us the truest picture of how that life may be continued and reincarnated from age to age. Its unique value over against other great hymns of mankind—and it is a great anthology which includes the hymn of Cleanthes and the Bhagavadgita and the psalms of the Indian saints—is that this hymn is a biography; wherever it says love we can put the name Jesus, and He meets the test and fills us with a sense of reality and power. The Jesus of history is *the differentia* of the Christian religion. He *is* His religion. "The incom-

parable significance of this personality as a force still working. . . . This is the real essence of Christianity," [1] says Harnack. Fellowship with God and man in Christ made possible and desirable beyond all else, this I take to be its essence; and Christian theology develops the thesis that God, who is Love and Light and Life, who is seeking to reconcile all men to Himself, and has sought them down the ages, has shone upon them more clearly in some prophetic souls, till with unique luster He blazes forth in Jesus. May we not say that the Logos dwelt in Him so fully that humanity and Godhead were one, and that we know what God is like because of this perfect Son of Man, in whom was no darkness at all? To the age-long cry of mankind, "Show us Thy Glory," God has replied in Jesus, "All my Goodness I have made to pass before you."

Now other religions are not only this cry of the heart, but contain in varying degrees of fullness the answer of the Eternal Spirit; in them not only has man sought God, but God has sought and found man. We have in Judaism the great intuition that as a father pities his children, so God pities His people; more than that—that as Hosea, the human husband, forgave his erring wife, so God is ready to take back to Himself His unfaithful people. We have in the Bhagavad-gita the great declaration that His arms are open to all who turn to Him:

> If one of evil life turn in his thought to Me, count him amongst the good. . . . Be certain none can perish, trusting Me!

And a thousand years of Buddhist theology culminates in this hymn of Immanence and Incarnation:

> The Blessed One sustaineth all indwelling,
> Yet is He oft for sinful men incarnate.
> Unnumbered are His deeds of loving-kindness,
> The Ocean of His gracious vows o'erfloweth.
>
> Darkened, infatuate, men forge their shackles,
> Arrogant and reckless into folly plunging—
> To them the Blessed One serenely preacheth,
> And all to holiness and joy restoreth.

He is our Refuge unsurpassed and peerless,
Who sin and suffering ever putteth from us.
If sinners seek to meet Him, lo He cometh!
Like the clear moon o'er mountain dark arising.[2]

We remember that this long development of Buddhist devotion began with a noble hymn on compassion:

As recking naught of self a mother's love
Enfolds and cherishes her only son,
So through the world let thy compassion move
And compass living creatures every one,
Sinking and soaring in unfettered liberty,
Purged of ill-will, freed from all enmity.[3]

Who shall say that these are not the words of the God of Love? And even to-day Buddhism, in spite of much that is degenerate, has its lessons for us all. As the Buddhist delegation reminded the Conference of Versailles in vain, "Hatred cannot be cast out by hate, but only by a refusal to hate." For a thousand years this great religion did much to keep the peace in Asia. It has indeed very much of the spirit of Christ.

In what, then, does the originality and in what does the finality of the Christian religion consist? It is original not primarily because it teaches things which the others do not teach—Sakyamuni and Laotze taught a very Christ-like gospel of love, including the Golden Rule, six centuries before Christ—but in the fact that it sums up these, and gives perfect and poignant expression to processes that are operative everywhere, and to truths that are eternal; and that it incarnates them in a Person of matchless strength and beauty. Jesus says more simply and more arrestingly many things that others tried to say before Him, and gives a new harmony and poise to them. And He alone fully embodies His teachings.

Christianity again is final, because these truths, as we discover more and more, are the very warp and woof of our universe, and it seems unlikely that they can be superseded, unless this world is replaced by an entirely different one! And even there Fatherhood and Love will surely be

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ultimate. I cannot here deal with His ethic, which seems to have nothing tentative and provisional about it—except to say that it is natural, and fits humanity; it *is* romantic, but human nature is incurably romantic. The Sermon on the Mount seems paradoxical only because our standards are untrue, our methods still largely pagan. To take a simple illustration: most of us go the wrong way to explain the great calm command, "If one smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also," forgetting that it is a law for brothers, and that it is not only possible, but even natural, if one brother is endowed with a sense of humor and loves the other.

Even more fundamental is the great law of sacrifice, "He that would save his life must lose it; except a grain of wheat fall into the ground it abideth alone." This paradox is in the very structure of things. As Francis Thompson sang:

> Even so, O Cross, Thine is the victory!
> Thy roots are fast within our fairest fields.

The Cross is planted, for instance, in the fair fields of motherhood, of ministries of healing, of the very processes of life and death, which make nature so fair and so inspiring a book to read.

The Buddhist knew this when he built up his great doctrine of the sacrificial life of the Bodhisattva, who in age after age, now as an animal giving his life for man, now as a prince among men, suffering that the world might be enriched, showed the power of vicarious sacrifice. What a glorious preparation has Asia had for the gospel of the incarnate Lord of Love, tabernacling among men, sharing their burdens, and showing in the great dramatic gesture of the Cross the eternal suffering of the Godhead, and in the Resurrection the Godhead's ultimate victory.

These deeds of His are perfect expressions of a law that is universal, and of "broken lights" that gleam in other faiths. And Asia is busy working out the implications of this: "I feel I never was a true Hindu till I became a Chris-

tian," said a young convert to a missionary. "O Christ, Thou alone art perfect Brahma," said a noted Hindu leader. "We see the Christ because we have first seen the Buddha," says Dr. M. Anesaki, who is a devoted admirer of St. Francis, but not less a follower of Nichiren, the Buddhist reformer, and champion of the Lotus Scripture.

Asia's millions are by nature and nurture nearer to the Sermon on the Mount than we. Has not Sakyamuni won them to the strength of meekness? Has not Laotze taught them to be humble as water, which ever takes the lowest place; unpretentious as wood, which may be fashioned at the will of man; gentle as women, in whose gentleness is their strength, and in non-resistance to prove their power? India's prophets from Sakyamuni to Gandhi have insisted that Ahimsa—"to do no hurt to anything that has life"—is man's bounden duty. Are not all one in the bundle of life? What wonder, then, that Asia from the days when she first welcomed Nestorian missionaries has responded to the words and Person of Jesus? His truth they breathe as if it were their native air. If the Logos philosophy is right, it *is* their native air indeed.

iii

Now, all this leads on to what is perhaps the greatest and most notable fact of our times. Here is the real test of the supremacy of the Christian religion, and at least an indication of its finality. Into the ancient East, the mother of religions, with her noble systems of philosophy, her glorious heritage of art, there came side by side with the merchant and the soldier a few ambassadors of the Cross, and in the words of a great Hindu judge, Sir N. Chandarvakar, "The ideas that lie at the heart of the Gospel of Christ are slowly but surely permeating every part of Hindu society, and modifying every phase of Hindu thought." "Standing amid the shadows of Western civilization India has seen a Figure who has attracted her," says Dr. Stanley Jones.[4] And of Japan at the very zenith of her power and pride, and indeed of her reaction against

the influence of the West, the late Count Okuma witnessed in similar words: "Although Christianity has enrolled less than 200,000 believers yet the indirect influence of Christianity has poured into every realm of Japanese life. . . . It is my own conviction that apart from Christianity no practical solution of many pressing problems is in sight." Here is a miracle indeed! Ordinary men and women, handicapped as they have been alike by the greed with which Christendom was parcelling out the continent of Asia, by the caste arrogance of the white man, and by a Christianity which was itself divided and largely impotent in Western lands, have yet brought back to Asia, as their Master foretold, a potent leaven; and to-day perhaps the best vindication of the Christian faith is this effect it is having upon the ancient religions of the Orient. What do we see? The following event is not untypical.

In a great and conservative Hindu college, Dr. T. R. Glover was giving a lecture on the Roman Empire.[5] He spoke of its many religions, their prestige and power, their gorgeous ritual and splendid art, and then described the little struggling Christian Church and its victory over all this learning and splendor, because of nobler living, clearer thinking, and more courageous death. He wisely made no reference to India, but that Hindu audience heard him in breathless silence, and as he closed the meeting the chairman, a famous Hindu judge, used some such words as these: "As I look at the ancient house of our Hindu faith I see it captured by the power of the little Christian Church—unless we speedily put it in order." Christianity, says a Hindu writer in the *Hibbert Journal,* has "quickened Hinduism with a new life, the full fruition of which is not yet." "Only Christ can save Hinduism," said a Hindu to an Indian Christian. And the author of *The Christ of the Indian Road* has shown us how rich is the harvest already, not only amongst the outcastes but amongst the cultured and high-born.

No sooner had the pure figure of Jesus come amongst these ancient peoples than there began a new sense of shame

in things that are less worthy, a new sense of sin, a new spiritual thirst; and side by side with these went movements of reform and selection which sought to lay hold on those things in the old faiths which were worthiest to stand in His presence. In a word, Christianity began at once to fulfill and to judge the Asiatic faiths. They, like those of Rome and Greece, had not only their Plato, their Seneca, their Epictetus, their Marcus Aurelius; they had also their Diana of the Ephesians, their Isis, their magic, and their abominations.

Sakyamuni is a fact in Indian religion; the hideous Kali with her bloody sacrifices is also a fact; Confucius and Laotze are notable figures in Chinese history, but their followers have made terms with others less worthy, till Laotze's mysticism has become magic, and the austere Ethic of Confucius blends with gross superstition. In Japan Dainichi and Amida are arresting symbols of the Eternal Father and Source of Life, but there is also Binzuru, a source of infection and death, and there is the blasphemous cult of the Emperor. The brethren of the Yellow Robe of Sakyamuni, who did so much to civilize and to unite the peoples of Asia have, alas, been too ready to compromise with evil, and the salt which they once had in abundance has lost its saltness, and is unable to keep away the microbes of disease and death. "The great tree of Buddhism," said Dr. Anesaki recently, "for all its fair branches, is rotten at the core," [6] and the love which it incarnates has lost that moral fiber which we find in Jesus, in whom love and justice meet in one pure flame. In fact, when our early missionaries began their work, the religions of Asia were already degenerate. There comes a cry from every land of Asia like this of Count Okuma, "We are spiritually thirsty, having nothing to drink"; and like this of Takayama, "Our leaders in spiritual things tell us how to make bread, but we are hungry for the bread itself."

Now Jesus, however crudely preached, has been held up with His great promise to give the water and the bread of life to all who are hungry and athirst, and it is exceed-

ingly interesting to see not only the steady growth of the Christian Church in numbers, but what is more significant, the raising up of great religious figures in India, and to note amongst the Japanese the ever-growing influence of Francis of Assisi and of Tolstoi, who are after all humble disciples of the Christ. There is no space to speak of the authentic Christian lives of masses of Asiatic Christians, especially perhaps in Korea and the Indian hill-country, where the joy and love of the Early Church are being reproduced. Nor need we do more than mention the courage of Japanese social reformers whose inspiration is Christ. Let us rather glance at two great movements that are going on side by side with the growth of the professedly Christian Churches of Asia. First, let us note that, while these old religions are attempting either to explain away or to put away things of which they have become ashamed, they have done more than this; there is a revival of the best things (and some of them are very noble), and a reading into these things of the spirit of Christ. This is a process which we may welcome; if, as I believe, the great Ethnic faiths are a suitable Old Testament for the peoples of Asia, and if in the purpose of God they have been used to prepare them for the Gospel, then it is natural that Christ should shed His glory over them. We have long been accustomed to reading the Old Testament of the Hebrews in His light, and we may be glad that Hindus and Buddhists are so reading their own Scriptures. Amongst such movements we may of course instance the Brahmo Samaj, which is reformed Hinduism, but which is near enough to Christianity to send its young leaders to be trained at the Harvard Divinity School. Its founder, Ram Mohun Roy, was devoted to the teachings of Christ, and looked upon them as the seed which upon Indian soil should produce a fair harvest of spiritual truth. Now, out of such sowing there has come the exquisite mystical theism of Tagore, which a missionary of great insight has described as giving us a glimpse of what the Christianity of India will be—"a Christianity better than that which we intro-

duced into India."[7] Almost all the exquisite poems of Gitanjali may well be used in Christian worship; the Divine Lover to whom they are offered is a Christ-like God whose footstool is among the lives of the poorest and lowliest and lost, who is where the tiller is tilling the hard ground, and where the pathmaker is breaking stones. He is with them in sun and shower, and His garment is covered with dust. He is to be met in Nature, and in the busy throng of men. Tagore is an Indian mystic, who has taken his place "at the great festival of life."

> Deliverance is not for me in renunciation. I feel the embrace of freedom in a thousand bonds of delight. Thou ever pourest for me the fresh draught of thy wine of various colours and fragrance, filling this earthen vessel to the brim. My world will light its hundred different lamps with thy flame and place them before the altar of thy temple. No, I will never shut the doors of my senses. The delights of sight and hearing and touch will bear thy delight. Yes, all my illusions will burst into illumination of joy, and all my desires ripen into fruits of love.

Here above all is one in whom has stirred a sense of the exceeding sinfulness of sin, which is a sure mark of Christ's presence; he speaks of it as a heavy chain which we are ever forging for ourselves anew, and which we hug to ourselves even as we seek to cast it away.[8] Now, many Indians have repudiated the idea that Christianity has influenced their beloved singer; it is true that from the Upanishads and from Buddhism, from Tukaram, Kabir and the other mystical singers of his own land he has drunk deeply; but as Keshub Chunder Sen said fifty years ago, "The spirit of Christianity has already pervaded the whole atmosphere of Indian society, and we breathe, think and move in a Christian atmosphere." Rabindranath, a child of his times and one of the inner circle of the Brahmo Samaj in his early upbringing, could not fail to drink deeply of that spirit. And we may trace the mind of Jesus at work in the greatly enlarged and purified idea of God which we find in his poems. This is the work of Jesus—to enlarge and to purify man's idea of God. Nor do his followers deny that

the spirit of service has come into their Asram from Christ: "We know Christ here," said the greatest among them.

From Japan we have recently received word of the great power of a Franciscan movement within Buddhism, and one of its inspirers, Dr. Anesaki, has given us this translation from a book, *The Adoration of Poverty,* in which a Buddhist pays his reverence to Christ. Of the Lord's Prayer, he says:

Christ has taught us how to pray. In meditating on his prayers one cannot but be struck by a sense of sublimity, as well as of gratitude toward him. The Lord's Prayer alone makes us all, even infidels, kneel. How grand and sublime the love shown by Christ! I submit to it unconditionally. In examining the Lord's Prayer we see the attitude of the child toward the Father expressed in a simple and natural manner, in a touching and vivid way.

"Our Father who art in Heaven!" What a loving and intimate expression!

"Hallowed be Thy name!" What a pious expression of humility!

"Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as in heaven!" Can there be any other prayer uttered by a creature which comprehends the rich and profound meanings expressed here? There is therein no ingredient whatever of selfishness. It is a universal prayer of our whole humanity. The sinful life on this earth! Who would dare say that it can endure as it is? But we can praise Him in unison that His will has descended to earth.

"Give us this day our daily bread." What a profound and penetrating utterance! We are given our life, we live by free gifts, not by toil. Who has the right to demand bread as a recompense for labor? We must not identify labor and bread. Labor is service, and bread is not its recompense. Bread is a gift given to those who ask for it. It will surely be given when we work to the utmost, in purity of heart and with an upright mind, in the face of God. And similarly with anything else necessary for us, I am convinced of this. Oh, happy is it to live a life of free outgiving!

"Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us." I feel that this cannot be otherwise. Forgive, indeed, our sins! My soul is enwrapped in darkness, when I think of the trespasses done against Thee, O Father. There is no excuse. O Brother! We have sinned one against another. I forgive your trespasses against me? No, I am graciously permitted to forgive. At the same time I pray, O Brothers, that you may forgive me. When I utter this prayer together with others in the church, warm tears stream forth out of the depth of my soul. Souls forgiving one

another, helping and loving one another, shine through all eyes, eyes full of tears. What a beautiful Kingdom is present here!

"Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil." True, indeed true! The earth is full of evil, I myself am evil itself. In thinking of this I could burst into tears. How can I restrain myself from praying? Has any act of mine toward others been in perfect harmony? No, it has always been injuring one another, afflicting one another. Even the thought of it is painful. Often I have pined, thinking whether this is our fate on earth. But the Son has sought us, the lost children, and lovingly consoled us. Joyous is the consolation tendered by the Lord. How would I dance in joy! Gratitude knows no bounds, even in thinking on it!

Oh, our brothers, all united in the Lord, shall we not valiantly try to live up to the prayer, so profound and all-embracing, taught us by the Lord? When we shall live up to this prayer, all the afflictions of this stormy world will be transfused in the white heat of love.

Is that not a better Christianity than much which we have introduced to Japan, tainted as it is with race superiority and so often not loving enough to arrest attention, nor joyous enough to win this cheery and gifted people? Is not this humility, this sense of sin, this spiritual thirst the work of Jesus? The peoples of Asia need Him and He needs them. The Kingdom of God needs the fearless idealism of India and her passion for the Unseen, the reasonableness of the Chinese and their sense of human solidarity, and the loyalty and artistic sense of the Japanese.

Nor are there wanting clear indications of what these ancient peoples will give to Christianity and get from it. In Japan there is already the meek yet heroic figure of Toyohiko Kagawa working with Franciscan simplicity at what he calls human architecture, and giving constructive leadership to the downtrodden. "A very devil," he says, "is the modern factory. Yet sunlight comes in through its windows, and reveals that its rooms are teeming with children of God. There will come a time when the figures of these children of light, and not the machine, will be exalted and adored in the name of freedom and light. The sun is rising, and human architecture is nearing its completion." [9] Here, in fact, is a living proof of the power of the person-

ality of Jesus and of His ethic of the Kingdom, which Japan is eagerly studying. The autobiography of Kagawa has gone through over two hundred editions, and Japan realizes that here is a new note of courage and of idealism which is declaring war upon the materialism of industry, and the imperialism of some of her statesmen, yet refuses to hate imperialists and captains of industry.

"The victory of Christianity depends upon love shown in practical life," he says in a letter to me, "so that the love of Christ as shown in His death on the Cross is seen to be greater than the love of the Buddha. The Japanese are tired of arguments . . . unless the love of Christianity is greater than that of Buddhism it is very hard to lead Buddhists to Christ." And this true follower of Christ has revealed in a life of much suffering and ceaseless work the heart of the Gospel; Japan has seen it and is arrested by it.

In India hearts are turning with the same wistfulness to another young and ardent prophet of the new evangel: Sadhu Sundar Singh is calling her to the love and simplicity of the Gospel in a voice which thrills her because it is that of her own prophets. "The Indian," he says, "must have the water of life, but not in a cup of European make and design." So he comes to her clad in the saffron robe of her own sannyasis; he speaks in homely parables like Sakyamuni; he calls her to find Reality (Satya), like the Upanishads, and to escape the maya of this false world. He summons her to samadhi, and to santi, or "peace which passes understanding." And the way he teaches is the old Indian way of bhakti, but now purified and deepened because the Bhagavan whom he preaches is the unique avatar, in whom God's grace (prasada), is supremely manifest. When such a voice speaks it can reject the inveterate doctrines of karma and samsara and the abuses of caste, because it speaks to the deep mysticism of India and to a conscience which recognizes at once the old forms and the crystalline sincerity of the new appeal. Here we see the Gospel at its task of fulfilling India's pilgrimage of the

spirit; and while it fulfills it reforms, replacing law by grace, casting out pessimism by a radiant hope, transmuting the idea of holiness by the message of service, and insisting that the divine, while it is immanent in the world and in man, is also transcendent. "If we would enjoy God we must be distinct from him," says Sundar; yet he insists ever upon a Johannine advaitism.

To sum up, we may say that the words of the Johannine Christ, "I am come that they may have life and may have it abundantly," are being richly fulfilled in the Orient, and would have seen more abundant fulfillment but for the poverty of much of our Western Christianity and the tragic failures of Christendom. The testimony of all Asia is that Jesus is worthy of homage and obedience. She will interpret Him in her own way, and we shall surely welcome her interpretation as an enrichment and not a menace to our Christology. She has clearly much to teach us of the unity of all life, and when men like Kagawa and Sundar Singh are working out through their own devoted and adventurous lives a gospel for their peoples, there is rich promise that God Himself will lead them out into new truth. Already "without observation" her thoughts of God are enlarged and purified as they become centered in Christ; they are ennobled and made more gracious than ever before. Already, too, she is recognizing that between Jesus and even her spiritual giants Sakyamuni, Laotze, and Confucius there is a difference of kind and not merely of degree. For He has done in our time what these have not done: He has given them a knowledge of God, where Sakyamuni and Laotze offered lovely ideals. He has given them a social ethic more contagious and more universal than that of Confucius, and offers them the constraining motive "for my sake and for the Kingdom of God." He has revealed the splendor of man as well as of God, confirming and deepening the faith of these teachers in our common humanity; and has set a standard of human constancy and love which, as Asia strives to imitate, she finds to be "more and more inimitable." More than that, to the hungry and cold human

heart He has come as a gracious dew, calling out penitence and bringing pardon and peace.

They have found in Him power to save, and now they are conscious that the Savior is also King. For He who can break the chain of sin is more than man, more even than one of a great company of "saviors," who cannot. The sons of Asia, like the rest of us, see very clearly that He stands, like their own Everest or Tai Shan or Fujiyama, towering aloft, unsurpassed; and like us they will go on and cry, "insurpassable."

We are all so far from having exhausted the meaning of the Fact of Christ, or from having begun to apply His standards with real loyalty, that it seems academic and futile to ask, "Can there ever be a higher revelation?" And to all of us alike God seems to say, "This is the Way, the Truth, and the Life."

If Jesus has never failed to meet the new problems of humanity as they arise, if He is ever enlarging and refining its idea of God, if He has the value of God, and gives God new value to us, why not give Him the supreme place He so calmly and humbly demands? Why hold back because a million years hence another may arise to lead humanity even further within the veil?

Christians hold that men cannot get nearer or farther than that burning center of the Cosmos, where man and God meet in the Son of Man. And all of us who know Him know that we have yet a long, long journey before we exhaust what we have seen in that Holy Place. The assumption that it is indeed the Holy of Holies is surely justified. And it has massive historic vindication not least in the Asia of to-day.

iv

Yet the Christian Church will surely do well to pay more respectful attention to the great things of the heritage of Asia. Central in it is Buddhism, which arising in India yet won the heart and mind of all the Far East, and forged spiritual bonds which still hold. It has produced an art so

sublime that it still enthralls us as with the vision of another world, and a literature so noble that its discovery by the West marks a new era. This book may well close with a brief attempt at an eirenicon between Christianity and Buddhism, the world's two greatest religions.

To wander through the fair fields of Buddhist history, to see the noble by-products of its compassionate spirit, and to read its great masterpieces is to be witness to the workings of the Eternal Spirit. Whether one passes from the moral maxims of the Dhammapada to the elaborate apocalypses of the Lotus, or from a simple stupa under the palms of Ceylon to some exquisite shrine with its giant cedars in Japan, or gazes in turn at the masterpieces of the Asokan age and of the era of Prince Shotoku, one is conscious that there has been a wonderful evolution in Buddhism, and that it has brought into being great civilizations. With imagination and sympathy the Christian may rejoice in all this, and take his part in a great and noble chapter of human progress. He will realize that Buddhism is at once a religion with a noble ethic, a many-sided philosophy, and the inspiration to great social and political achievements. He will seek to estimate its contribution in each of these spheres, and will begin with the moral teachings of its Founder, which are his lasting claim to recognition. If the task of the moral teacher is to get his teaching accepted and practiced, then Sakyamuni, like other great ethical teachers, has failed of complete success. "If the Buddhist world were perfect in its faith the race would have died out long since," says Fielding Hall, a strong apologist of Buddhism; and even if we do not take this extreme view of its monastic teachings we can agree that, like Christianity, Buddhism has been found difficult, and only practiced in patches. The very statesmen who represented Japan at the Peace Conference denied the whole spirit of the appeal of her Buddhist leaders that the peace of the world should be secured by the exercise of love and brotherhood. We who call ourselves by the Name of Christ have been similarly humiliated at this and many

other times in the history of our peoples, and we shall sympathize with our Buddhist friends instead of criticizing them. Our treatment of one another has been as unchristian as Japan's treatment of China was unbuddhist. They can claim at least that their Founder has won the love and admiration of Asia, that his ideals of benevolence, self-control, and justice are ideals which stir them in their better moments, and that at their great epochs they have been bent to the noble "way of virtue" which is the essence of Buddhism. The India of Asoka and the Japan of Shotoku have given more than a glimpse of what a Buddhist world might be. It was not an empty plea which the Buddhists of Japan sent to the Peace Conference, and one of the most interesting questions of the day is this, Can the Buddhist nations become once more truly Buddhist? Can "Buddhist" Japan, for example, show true metta in her dealings with Korea and China, and true kshanti, or "forbearance," toward the white race? It is a severe test!

Buddhism, like Christianity, is challenged by the modern world; and both great religions can only reply, "This and this have I accomplished, and there is unlimited good waiting to be done, if only men will take to heart and practice what they profess to believe." In view of the ever-growing influence which Asia is exerting in the modern world, and of that world's urgent need for a religion which satisfies the intellect and nerves the will, and in view also of the fact that Christianity, the only other truly "universal" religion, is also on its trial, an estimate of Buddhism, its one serious rival among thinkers, is of great interest.

Its moral teachings for the laity are similar enough to those of Christianity to be accepted as the ideals of all good and reasonable men. That it is better to be loving than unloving, that the good life is the happy life, that worth is a truer basis for social distinction than birth, that the true riches are riches of character, that men may live in the world as its masters rather than its slaves—upon these and similar Buddhist ideals there is no controversy. Buddhism provides one great and noble type of ethical

theory which the world might do well to follow. Yet we of the twentieth century cannot accept its tendency to place the monk on a higher level than the layman, and its appeal to the reason has proved in the course of its history to need reënforcing by an appeal to the heart. Mahayana Buddhists have themselves criticized for two thousand years the motive of enlightened self-culture to which Sakyamuni himself seems to have launched his appeal. They have wisely replaced the Arhat by the Bodhisattva ideal, taking his own constraining example as a corrective to his teachings. Even so the Buddhist ethic must needs seem an individualistic system when set over against the social concept of the Kingdom of God which is central in the teachings of Jesus. Here, as many Buddhist thinkers acknowledge, Christianity has an immense contribution to make, and though in their own religion there is to be found the ideal of a righteous King ruling in the name of the Dharma and by its power of love, yet this is in conflict with the central monastic ideal, and even Asoka is said to have taken the Yellow Robe in old age. Whether he did so or not, it was as an upasika, or a member of the Third Order of lay disciples, that he and other rulers did their best work—judged from the point of view of the Kingdom of God; and that Buddhism ranks them below the least worthy of its monks is clear. It is more meritorious to help a bad monk than a good layman! For the works of the laity—social service, road-making, irrigation, even the building of hospitals—what are they, seen from the orthodox standpoint, but attempts to patch up a world which the wisest will leave, and enter into the other-worldly peace of the monastery? Some of the most arresting sayings of Sakyamuni, often quoted to illustrate his interest in social-service, are misquoted. "Let him who would wait upon me tend the sick" —this beautiful saying for example refers to the Brethren of the Yellow Robe; they are to wait upon one another, but are expressly forbidden to leave their essential task of proclaiming the Dharma, of calling men and women to forsake the "worldly life" of the family. And though there

is a good deal to be said for this division of function—the Brethren to preach and meditate and the laity to support them—it soon became a real evil in Buddhism, as its Chinese critics have never ceased to point out; and the motive of "merit" has for centuries been at work sapping the real spirit of the Dharma. The Sangha becomes a field of merit, and gifts to it are potent. Now if once the calculating spirit enters in, love, benevolence, true religion take their flight. The Buddhist ethic, in a word, lacks the constraining motive "for the sake of the Kingdom of God," and tends to become individualistic and self-regarding, though with a corrective tendency in the noble conception of the Bodhisattva, in whom service to humanity is the nerve of self-sacrificing love. In its attitude to woman also the Buddhist Ethic has clearly aimed less high and accomplished much less than that of Christ.

When we turn to Buddhism as philosophy we may accept its claim to have sounded the whole gamut of European philosophical thought. It anticipated by over two thousand years the teachings of Hume that the "soul" is a complex stream of thinking, feeling, and willing, the subjective idealism of Bishop Berkeley, the pantheistic realism of Spinoza, and the realistic idealism of Hegel. Not always systematic, its philosophers have none the less achieved great distinction. Yet none of these European systems is to-day accepted as final, and the criticisms which have been aimed at them hold also in the case of the corresponding Buddhist schools, with this difference, that Buddhism is a religion claiming to be final and universal and to be based upon right thinking. In it philosophy is, therefore, of vital importance; and it is no complete answer to say that its Founder was concerned with ethical rather than with metaphysical truth, for his followers claim that he is not only a great authoritative Teacher, but also the source of all inspiration and the fullest expression of Cosmic Truth. And he himself based his authority upon such a claim. That his followers, from the early Realists of the Theravada to the Transcendentalists of Nagarjuna's school have differed

amongst themselves so profoundly upon the fundamental questions of the nature of the ego and of the world, can only be accounted for either, as modern Western scholars argue, by showing that Sakyamuni gave no very clear statement upon these fundamental points, or by accepting some form of the harmonizing theory of such men as Silabhadra and Chi-i, that all these teachings were given by the great teacher in turn, as men were able to bear them. But this theory, ingenious as it is, cannot meet the test of scientific criticism; as early as the sixteenth century Japanese scholars made this clear, and to-day no critical student could possibly accept it, though it is taught by at least one sect in Japan.

Nevertheless, there is this much of truth in it, that Buddhism as it has struck successive notes of realism, idealism, and pantheism has sounded what is after all a universal music. Any system of philosophy which is to be final must harmonize these notes. If Sakyamuni did not teach these doctrines, yet they developed from germs to be found in his teaching.

We need, however, as Buddhist scholars have pointed out, to be on our guard in using familiar Western labels. It is unfair, for example, to describe the realistic schools as "materialist." These schools, while they deny the Atman, acknowledge the Skandhas. It is quite misleading to label this denial "materialism," for these Buddhist scholars were monks and essentially religious; and four of the five Skandhas which they acknowledged are not "material" but "spiritual" or "psychical" factors; they are called collectively Nama-rupa, "name-and-form," or "spirit-and-body," and only one is rupa, or "material." In these schools, too, as we have seen, Buddhism insists upon the primacy of mind; even the most scholastic of them therefore find themselves before long in a position of unstable equilibrium, and go over either to the pure idealism of such sects as the Zen, or to the realistic pantheism of T'ientai, or the transcendentalism of the Middle Path of Nagarjuna, or even to the nihilism of some of his followers.

But these are academic matters. Of peculiar interest to the Christian philosopher is the theological doctrine which emerges from these schools. The more it is studied the more does its affinity with the Christology of the Church stand revealed. She has always been faced by the problem of reconciling the divine immanence with the divine transcendence. Now, as we have been recently reminded, "the natural key to this problem is found in the eternal contrast between the actual and the ideal . . . between the perfect and the imperfect, and in perfection disclosing its features gradually." This key was in the hand of the Buddhist schoolmen fifteen centuries ago, and the study of the T'ientai and Mantra schools will convince the student of the deep religious spirit which animated these thinkers.

Tathata, the Absolute Reality, is for them active and progressive; at once essence, force and mode, he or it is the indwelling Reality of the phenomenal world: they are mutually dependent, and the object of the Eternal is to reveal itself in the phenomenal world—such is the philosophy of T'ientai. In Shingon we advance a stage further; the ideal and potential is regarded as realizing itself in the actual; and the ideal, whilst it is real in all phenomena, is most real in religious practices. Like Hegel's "process," the Absolute is the progressive realization of the phenomenal world, and the Buddhist philosophy is free from the bland egoism of Hegel, who saw in human nature as a whole the emergence of the Creative Cause from darkness, and gave to the Kultur of his own people a preëminent place. The Buddhist philosophers start not from human nature as we find it in ordinary folk, but from ideal human nature as it is manifested in the Buddha. And here the Christian theologian will again find himself in full sympathy with them. He will start from the historical Jesus, finding in Him the true norm of humanity, the crown and flower of the race, in the light of whom the whole process of evolution must be interpreted. The Christian and the Buddhist

philosopher can, then, agree that the Dharma or Logos, which is the true meaning of the universe, is fully manifest only in the great historic Teacher; they will agree too that it is in us all, or we could not respond to its supreme manifestation. "The Buddha sitteth on the Lion seat," says the Avatamsaka Sutra, "yet manifesteth himself in every particle of dust." "That," says the Fourth Gospel, "was the true light, that lighteneth every man, coming into the world." Here we see the philosophical mind relating the historic hero to Eternal Truth, and vindicating its immanence. It is at this point that a bridge may best be built between Buddhism and Christianity. "Your Christ is a manifestation of the Dharma: in our Buddha the Logos was revealed"—this is the attitude of the thoughtful Buddhist, and the Christian may welcome it as a reconciling statement.

Another link between Buddhist and Christian thinkers, about which there is, however, more room for disagreement, is the teaching that the holy life gives power over the material world. The Buddhist sees in Jesus a manifestation of Arhatta and Iddhi, of which the Resurrection is the crowning manifestation; and it is arresting to find, as Buddhism develops, a doctrine of Resurrection, vaguer and less central in its significance than that of the Christian Church, but like it the expression of a conviction that death could not triumph over so great a manifestation of Spiritual power and of love and faith as was embodied in the historical teacher. "Lo, he yet speaketh from the Vulture Peak," says Nichiren; "Lo, I am with you to the end of the world," says the Christ of the Fourth Gospel.

But perhaps the most significant point of contact for the theologian is the Buddhist doctrine of the Bodhisattva, and the sacrifice which he is ever making for humanity and for all sentient things. How appealing is the vision of the Sun-Buddha Vairochana, who sets himself on fire to warm and cheer the world. The Christian Church, influenced, it may be, by the same sun-worship of central Asia, has used the same noble image for the dying Christ:

Like him thou hang'st in dreadful pomp of blood
Upon thy western rood.

Not the least of the claims of Christianity to be the supreme religion is, as we saw above, the fact that it sums up and gives poignant expression to processes that are universal. The Cross is not an isolated act; there is a cosmic significance in self-sacrifice, as the Buddhist world has more and more fully realized:

Kalpa after Kalpa through every form of existence
Hath the Blessed One wrought deeds of virtue and of penance
For us and for all that hath life, and for our salvation!
Yea verily, his boundless love is as the immensity of space.[10]

The God whom Mahayana Buddhists find revealed in the historic Sakyamuni, whether they call him Amitabha or Vairochana, has many of the same qualities as the God worshiped in the historic Jesus. Sakyamuni "has the value of God" to one great multitude, Jesus to another. To both God is a loving God, and each finds in its God-man the Divine quality of sacrificial Love. May we not go further?

If God is love, then He will make an atonement between himself and an estranged humanity through his own sacrificial love. In Buddhism this doctrine is adumbrated in the myths of the Jatakas until by the fifth century A.D. we find the claim, "More than the ocean has he shed of his blood; more than the stars has he given of his eyes." And to-day, whether in Southern Asia with its doctrine of the transference of merit, and of the great bank of the Buddha's merit to be tapped by the faithful, or in China and Japan with their gratitude for the love of Amida or of Vairochana, we find a doctrine akin to that of the self-emptying of God in the life and death of Christ. Indeed, the Christian doctrine that "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself" has its close parallel in the Buddhist conception of the eternal Dharmakaya taking a human form: "The Buddha exhausteth every means of loving strategy to bring all men to Himself" is the essential teaching of the Mahayana, and this springs directly out of the orthodox Theravada doctrine

of the Jatakas. Buddhism having no historic Cross has had to invent one, and the Christian Church will do well to emphasize this central teaching. If it be objected that Buddhism is pantheistic and Christianity monotheistic, and that therefore they use similar words and concepts with a very different meaning, we may accept this statement, yet find in the Logos doctrine which came so early into the Christian Church a reconciling concept which, as we saw above, Dr. Anesaki even calls "the Buddhism in Christianity." Many thoughtful Buddhists, in fact, find this doctrine congenial, and understand Johannine Christology even if they are not ready to yield to the claims of the Christ. They claim to find Him in the historic Sakyamuni as the Light and Life of eternity manifesting itself in human love. And it is only when we press upon them the exclusive claims of the historic Jesus that they find themselves unable to go with us. Here, as in the Roman and Greek world, is the parting of the ways. "Faith in the Christ," they argue, "we already have. Why particularize it and limit it?" Buddhism in fact has been, from the beginning, more of a faith than we are apt to recognize. Saddha, "faith," is one of its cardinal virtues from the start, and at least from the time of the "Awakening" [11] faith has been the way of salvation: Even in the Lotus it plays a great part.

In prayer, again, as practiced by Buddhists, there are many points of contact between the two great faiths. Springing out of their view of the nature of the Absolute there developed naturally a conception and practice of prayer as communion with the Unseen, and as thanksgiving blent with intercession and petition. The Buddhist doctrine of prayer, though it is less articulate than the Christian, has all these elements, so that when the little Burmese woman offers a strand of hair upon the golden pagoda at Rangoon, she will not only remind herself with gratitude of what has been done by the Buddha, but will perhaps experience communion with the Unseen, and will pour out her intercession for her family, or her special petition for the child

to be born to her. More articulate still is the system as developed in China and Japan, where we find pilgrims praying for some vision of the gods, and monks continually developing their sense of communion with all the universe. The unity of all life is indeed the most characteristic doctrine of Buddhism, and here our Western Christianity has much to learn from Buddhist saints. Accepting it perhaps in theory, we have hardly practiced it; but as every student of Buddhist art and thought will realize this "intuition of Oneness" is the master-light of all their seeing. Christians on the other hand have a far stronger sense of God's awful purity and therefore of the exceeding sinfulness of sin. To cling to the Asiatic sense of immanence and correct it by the Hebrew and Christian view of divine transcendence —that is perhaps the central problem of Christian philosophy. It is not enough to hold these two views as theories; we have all to learn to rejoice in them and to practice them. We must continue to teach a Christianity which is fellowship with God in Jesus, mediated by the indwelling Spirit.

What, then, has Christianity to offer to the Buddhist world? In addition to its noble concept of the Kingdom of God, and much more fundamental, is the Person of the historic Jesus. Even Ritschlians may be faithful missionaries in Buddhist lands! For in Jesus the Love and Purity and Righteousness of God are presented in a simpler, more dramatic, and more constraining form than even in the historic Sakyamuni. Jesus is the one asset of the Christian Church. Yet He is enough. In a sense which is not true of Sakyamuni, Jesus *is* His religion. To the great motive "for the Kingdom" He adds the greater one "for Me." Now, it is a matter of history that the Buddhist world is not, and has never been, as centered in Sakyamuni as the Christian world in Jesus. It has for more than nineteen centuries been supplementing this noble figure by many another: Avalokitesvara, Samantabhadra, Amitabha, Vairochana. These are not to be accounted for solely by

the pantheistic tendency in Buddhism. Sprung as they are from the loins of Sakyamuni, they are also the expression of a felt need. As a tendency to think too exclusively of the Divine Son as judge called into being the worship of the gracious "Mother of God" in the mediaeval Christian Church, so in Buddhist lands the historic Founder, having been identified with Cosmic Truth, his other qualities of love and compassion were embodied in these fair forms of the compassionate ones. Far more than in the case of Christianity has the Founder of Buddhism disappeared behind the type. The Christian Church finds these divine qualities perfectly embodied and harmonized in the historic Jesus, and rightly insists that He *is* His religion,[12] and it humbly offers him to the Buddhist world, believing that He is the bond of love which will unify and reconstruct their faith. Devotion to His person becomes at once the nerve of service, the joy of prayer, and the essential attraction of the life after death. This great Figure, then, with His serene faith in God and His social gospel, is what Christianity has to give to the Buddhist world; and it is much, for in Him a new and unique union with God becomes possible. And if the great words of Jesus, "I came not to destroy but to fulfill," are true of Judaism because with all its narrow nationalism, its obstinate materialism, its priestcraft, and perversion of spiritual leadership, it had great and noble thoughts of God and man, are they not true perhaps indeed in even a deeper sense of Buddhism? The Christian Church will be blind indeed if it does not build upon these noble foundations; and architects of genius, of sympathy, and of knowledge are needed by the Master-Builder, that His age-long work may stand complete—a Kingdom into which all shall bring their rich gifts. In this Kingdom the Buddhist peoples have surely a noble part to play. The Kingdom languishes without them, and so nobly have they in times past responded to the voice of Sakyamuni that they cannot fail to heed that more arresting and Divine Word incarnate in Jesus. In a true sense He is the crown and goal of Buddhism. And if of Buddhism, then

of Hinduism. For Buddhism is Hinduism purged of the evils of caste, and ennobled by a Lord more worthy of devotion than Krishna or Siva. Sakyamuni has been a Light of Asia: Krishna is a peculiarly Indian figure, whom no other people will worship. It is the Christ alone who can in its full sense claim the great title, Light of the World.

APPENDIX

ILLUSTRATIVE READINGS

Varuna

The tribes of men are wise by His great might,
Who stayed asunder wide heaven and earth:
Who moved the high and mighty sky, and the ancient stars, and spread out the earth;
With my own heart I commune, "How shall Varuna and I be at one?"
What gift will He accept, unangered?
When may I confidently await His gracious favor?
Seeking to know my sin, I question the sages, O Varuna,
And all make answer, "Varuna verily is wroth."
What, O Varuna, is my great sin, that Thou slayest him thy friend and psalmist?
Tell me, O Lord of Might who may not be deceived, and straightway will I put away my sin and give Thee homage.
Loose us from our fathers' sins and from our own.
Loose us, O King, as the thief looses cattle from the halter.
Not our will, but weakness of the flesh and thoughtlessness made us stray, O Varuna: wine, dice or anger seduced us!
The old are at hand to tempt our youth: slumber leadeth us to evil.
I thy servant would serve Thee, bounteous Lord:
Sinless would I serve Thee and propitiate Thy wrath.
Thou, gracious one, givest wisdom to the simple:
Thou, wise one, leadest the wise to riches.
O Lord Varuna, may my meed of praise come nigh Thee, and creep within Thy heart.
So may we prosper in work and rest.
Preserve and bless us evermore, ye gods.

Rig Veda VII, 86.

Varuna

His mighty deeds I will declare, the deeds of Varuna immortal:
Who standing in high Heaven hath meted out the Earth and Sun:
None verily may hinder his mighty design, most wise god:
Whereby the rivers flooding down yet fill not the ocean.

If we have sinned against a lover, friend or comrade,
Neighbor or stranger, remove our sin, O Varuna!
If we at dice have cheated, or have sinned,
Witting or unwitting, cast Thou away,
O Varuna, our loosened bonds of sin:
And take us to be Thine own beloved friends.

Rig Veda V, 85.

Here ancient India trembles on the brink of an ethical monotheism, yet in her love of Varuna does not forget the other gods. All her prayers to Varuna contain a cry for forgiveness. He is the embodiment of Law, physical and moral. But she never shook off unworthier concepts of God, and in the following passage we seem to be contemplating one of the great and tragic turning points of her religious history:

I, Agni, graceless one, desert the Gracious . . .
I leave the Father, for my choice is Indra.

Rig Veda X, 124.

The One Above the Gods
(c. 900 B.C.)

Non-being then existed not nor being:
There was no air, nor sky that is beyond it.
What was concealed? Wherein? In whose protection?
And was there deep unfathomable water?

Death then existed not nor life immortal;
Of neither night nor day was any token.
By its inherent force the One breathed windless:
No other thing than that beyond existed.

Darkness there was at first, by darkness hidden;
Without distinctive marks, this all was water.
That which, becoming, by the void was covered,
That One by force of heat came into being.

Desire entered the One in the beginning:
It was the earliest seed, of thought the product.
The sages searching in their hearts with wisdom,
Found out the bond of being in non-being.

Their ray extended light across the darkness:
But was the One above or was it under?
Creative force was there, and fertile power:
Below was energy, above was impulse.

Who knows for certain? Who shall here declare it?
Whence was it born, and whence came this creation?
The gods were born after this world's creation:
Then who can know from whence it has arisen?

None knoweth whence creation has arisen;
And whether he has or has not produced it;
He who surveys it in the highest heaven,
He only knows, or haply he may know not.

Rig Veda X, 129.
(Translated in the original meter by
A. A. Macdonell.)

This great hymn is the climax of speculative thought in the Rig Veda. It belongs to the Tenth Mandala, the latest collection, and is a link with the monism of the Upanishads. The singers of these hymns give preëminence first to one and then to another of the Gods, and at last turn to seek an Absolute, or Ultimate Reality above and behind them and all phenomena. To the idealistic monism and theism of such hymns as the following is a bold yet inevitable step.

The Essence of the Upanishads

One the Source of Many

As the sun illumines and shines upon
All regions, above, below, east and west;
So that One God, glorious, adorable,
Rules all things created.

The Source of all, self-evolving,
Who ripens whatever can be ripened,
And who distributes all qualities—
Over this whole world rules the One.

Svetasvatara V, 4.5.

This is theistic, but may be read pantheistically.

The One is Brahman

Brahman, indeed, is this immortal:
Before, behind, to right and to left,
Stretched forth above, below,
Brahman indeed is this wide world.

Mundaka II, 2.11.

This is pantheistic, but is often read theistically.

Brahman is Atman

From Him all seas and mountains come,
From Him all rivers rolling on,
From Him all herbs and that one Soul—
Essence of all that dwells within.

He on whom the sky, the earth, the atmosphere
Are woven, and the mind, with all life-breaths,
Him alone know as the one Soul (Atman). Other
Names dismiss. He is the bridge to immortality.

Mundaka II, 1. 9. 2. 5.

I Am Brahman

Verily in the beginning this world was Brahman, One alone.
It knew only itself "I am Brahman." Therefore it became the All.
Whoever of the gods awoke to this, he indeed became it.
So in the case of seers and men. Whoever thus knows "I am Brahman" becomes this All.

Brihadaranyaka I, 4.

A Later Theistic Upanishad

"Invisible We View Thee"

Beyond the darkness I know Him the great Spirit, shining as the sun:
Knowing Him is immortality: that only is the Path by which men escape Death:
Naught is there so high, so small, so great—
As a tree He standeth in the heaven firm-rooted:
His spirit filleth all the universe.
Without form, sorrowless is that Beyond:
Knowing this man escapeth Death; knowing it not he cometh to sorrow.
Pervading all things, He dwelleth within; He the Lord
Whose countenance is in all places, the gracious One
Whose presence is everywhere: yea in the fastnesses of the heart.
The Supreme Lord is He, who prompeth to pure action,
Within whose reach are all things, such is His bright power,
Light undying, yet dwelling in the inner heart.
And by the heart and mind is He conceived as Lord of Thought.
To know this is Immortality . . .
Himself void of sensation, He is revealed in all sense;
Lord of all, of all Ruler and Refuge . . .
In this citadel of flesh incarnate, He that world-sovran

Controlleth all things and hovereth this way, that way.
Handless He holdeth, footless He speedeth:
Eyeless seeth He, earless He heareth. Knowing all,
Himself unknown: yet called by man the First, the great Spirit,
Smaller than the small, greater than the great
Is this Soul who dwelleth in the heart.
Beholding Whom man becomes sorrowless,
When by His grace he beholdeth the Lord and His might.
Yea I know Him ageless Ancient of days, primeval
All-soul, pervading all things, birthless, Eternal.
One is there, colorless, who lendeth hues to all this varied world;
Hiding His aim, his potent might applying,
Beginning of all, the End in which all things dissolve.
He is God! May He give us understanding!
Thou art the Fire, the Sun, the Wind, the Moon:
Thou art the Waters, and Creation's Lord.
The Pure One, Brahma, Creative Spirit.
Man art Thou and Woman; boy and maiden:
Thou the aged tottering on his staff:
Thou comest again to the birth, and gazest here and there.
The blue-bird Thou, the parrot red-eyed;
The lightning is Thy child, Thou art the Sea,
And all the seasons in their order Thou:
Source of all, abiding, immanent.
Sole warder standest Thou over every womb,
God bounteous, worshipful, end and beginning of all:
Seeing Thee man cometh to unchanging Peace.
May He endow us with blessed understanding,
He who is Father of gods and Lord,
Stay and pillar of the Universe:
Who saw the golden germ at his birth,
Creator of all, many-formed, intangible, . . .
Thence there poured forth ancient Wisdom;
In Him is no darkness, nor day nor night:
No being nor not-being—but only the gracious One imperishable.
From Whom primeval Mind was made,
Desirable splendor of Savitri [1]
Inapprehensible, invisible, He the great glory,
May not be bodied forth in material likeness:
But they who know and love Him dwelling within,
These come to Immortality.

Svetasvatara III, 8.13.17; IV, 20.

This is a later theistic Upanishad—post-Buddhistic. It is parallel to the Bhagavad-gita—and aims at doing for Siva what the Gita does for Krishna.

Some Ethical Ideals of the Upanishads

The eternal greatness of a Brahmin
Is not increased nor lessened by his deeds.
Knowing this one is not stained by evil.

Wherefore, having this knowledge, having become calm, subdued, quiet, longsuffering, and collected one sees the Atman in the Self. One sees all as Atman. Evil overcomes him not: he overcomes all evil. Evil burns him not: he burns all evil. Free from evil, from impurity, from doubt, he becomes a Brahmin.

Brihadaranyaka IV, 4.23.

Not he who still does evil,
Not he who is restless and uncontrolled,
Not he who is of unquiet mind
Can come by knowledge to obtain Him.

Katha II, 24.

The Tao

(6th Century B.C.)

(Tao is variously translated "Nature," "Norm," "Way," "Road," or even "Logos.")

Perfect yet undefined It lay.
Ere Heaven and Earth were formed!
How still and without form It lies,
Alone, unchanging, infinite,
Pervading, inexhaustible;
Unhindered, Mother of us all!

Its Name unknown, the Way 'tis named
The Great perchance a better name:[2]
For great in ceaseless flow It is;
Elusive It moves on afar,
And flowing back returns again,
Remote, inapprehensible!

Great is the Tao, and Heaven is great,
Great is the Earth, and great the King.
These four alone are truly great.
Man from the Earth his law doth take,
And Earth obeys high Heaven's behest,
And Heaven itself obeys the Tao,
Whose Law is in Itself complete,
Inherent and autonomous.

Tao-te-King 25. 1-5.

In this little book—the Book of the Tao and of Virtue—Laotze systematizes and gives perfect expression to the philosophy of early Chinese Naturism. His Tao may be compared with the Brahman of the Upanishads—an absolute, primeval essence pervading all, the one ultimate Reality.

Pervading all is this Great Way!
Behold it on thy right and left!
From It proceeds whate'er exists,
It gives all life and spurns them not.
Yet when its task is duly done,
It makes no boast of sovranty;
All things It loves and cherishes,
Yet claims no lordship over them.
In smallest things It may be found,
As in the greatest: all return
To It; yet know not this Great Way
As Lord and Guardian of their life.
Hence is the sage by it empowered—
Humbling himself he groweth strong:
To him the world for rest resorts,
And findeth peace who holds this Way.
He tempts them not with feast and song;
The simple Norm he offers all,
Formless, yet inexhaustible!

Tao-te-King 34-35.

Hymn of Cleanthes
To Zeus
(c. 250 B.C.)

Most glorious Immortal, Almighty forever!
Zeus, Author of Nature, by Law Thou dost steer.
Hail, many-titled! we mortals adore Thee!
Thine offspring we are, and alone of Thy creatures
Thine impress we carry, our speech is Thy mark.
Thee then would we hymn, and Thy Power unending.

Lo! The vast spheres, round the earth ever rolling,
Rejoice in Thy Lordship, and own Thee as King.
Victorious Thy hands wield fire Thy servant;
At Thy thunderbolt keen earth quakes: and from Thee
The Word universal that pulses through all things,
And mingles its life with the Lights great and lesser.
From Thee takes its birth, O Thou Sovereign most high!

Lo! without Thee in the earth and the waters
In heights empyrean is nothing accomplished,
Save folly of fools, blind rebellion of sinners.
The crooked Thou straightenest; jarring disorder
Moves at Thy word to harmony cosmic,
And friendliness wakens where hatred abounded.
All things together Thou fittest and guidest:
That One over all may be Reason eternal.

Hard are the hearts of the sinful and heedless:
Woe unto them! who grasp and are blind
And deaf to the voice of Thy Law universal
That calls to obedience, to love of the noble.
This they would shun, and headstrong and heedless
Yield them to seeking and strife: or on plunder
And getting are set, trampling honor beneath them.
And others are given to lust and to softness.

May Thou, cloud-dweller, but pity and save them,
Great giver of gifts, from blindness and folly;....
The shroud of a darkness more dismal than death.
Scatter, O Thunderer, the night of their darkness!
Grant them Thy Light, Thy Justice, Thy Reason.

So by Thee honored with worship requite we:
Hymning Thy works, Thee mortals adore.
And honor Thy Law with unending devotion!
Meet is the task for men and Immortals
To glorify Justice Enduring and One.

Cleanthes was born about 331 B.C. and lived to the age of ninety-nine. A pupil of Zeno, he succeeded him in 264 B.C. and presided over the Stoa for thirty years, until his death in 232.

He was not only a philosopher but a man of fine religious fervor, and expressed himself most readily in such hymns as this famous Ode to Zeus.

The Paradise Mahayana

Where the Wicked Cease From Troubling

(Queen Vaidehi, chief consort of King Bimbisara, grieved beyond endurance by the conduct of her unnatural son who has imprisoned his father, comes to the Buddha on the Vulture Peak, and speaks as follows:)

"My only prayer, World Honored One, is this: tell me of a world where there is no sorrow and pain, whither I may escape this world

of evil where the wicked abound. Let me not hear, I pray Thee, the voice of the wicked any more, let me not set eyes upon them. . . . May the Sunlike Buddha enlighten me."

Then the World Honored One flashed from his brow a golden ray, and illuminated the innumerable worlds of the ten regions, resplendent and lovely, that the queen might take her choice. She chose the realm of the Buddha-Amitayus, the Land of Bliss, *Sukhavati.*

"O Vaidehi," said the World Honored One, "knowest thou not that Amitayus is not far from thee? Do thou apply thy mind to such as have wrought out the good deeds that lead to rebirth in his Paradise. They who would go thither must cultivate a threefold goodness. First they must act with filial piety and support their parents; they must serve and respect teachers and elders; of compassionate mind let them harm none but keep the ten precepts. Second, let them observe the vows, taking refuge in the Three Jewels; let them honor all moral precepts and act with dignity in the ceremonial of worship. Third, let them give their whole mind to the attainment of Perfect Wisdom, put steadfast faith in causality, study and recite Mahayana Scriptures, and lead others to join them. . . . Again, O queen, thou art but an ordinary person endowed with poor intelligence, yet all beings not born blind can see the setting sun. Take thy seat, therefore, looking to the West and set thy mind to meditate upon the sun when it is about to set, and hangs like a drum in the heavens. Then let its image remain clear and fixed whether thine eyes are open or shut. . . ." Such is the First Meditation.

Meditations on water, ice, lapislazuli, and fourteen others follow, which lead to the vision of the Buddhas of the ten regions, and especially of Amitayus and his attendant Bodhisattvas, Avalokitesvara and Mahasthamaprapta, the embodiments of Compassion and of Might.

The queen and her women attain to these visions and to full Enlightenment.

Amitayur-dhyana Sutra V, 5.10.
(1st or 2nd Century A.D.)

The Land of Bliss

The Sukhavati of the blessed Amitabha is prosperous, rich, delectable, fertile, lovely, and thronged with gods and men. No hells are there, no brutes nor ghosts nor untimely births. . . . It is fragrant, adorned with jewel trees, and resounds with the song of sweet-voiced birds. Its trees are of gold and silver, of crystal and coral, of pearl and diamond. . . . Vast lotus flowers abound, and from each there spread rays of light innumerable. There flow great rivers murmuring sweet music, and heavenly instruments take up the lovely sound deep,

clear, delightful, unwearying as though they murmured "transient unreal, full of peace." . . . Nowhere is there in that Land of Bliss any sound of sin, sorrow, affliction, or destruction. It is above pleasure and pain: therefore it is called Sukhavati, the Land of Bliss.

Larger Sukhavati Vyuha 16-19, *passim.*
(1st or 2nd Century A.D.)

Both the above books are translated in Volume XLIX of the *Sacred Books of the East.* They belong to the popular Paradise Mahayana of about the end of the first century A.D. or earlier. They seem to have been introduced to China as early as 170 A.D. and played a very great part, like the Lotus Scripture, in popularizing Buddhism in the Far East. Childish in some ways, they yet voice the demand of the human heart for a Heavenly City.

Some Vows of the Bodhisattva

May there be no root of good in me, no knowledge of right, no cunning or skill save such as serve all living things.

Gaganaganja Sutra.

In giving is the true enlightenment.

Ratnamegha.

With mind unbending as the Earth with all her load: keen as a diamond in its resolution: unruffled as the heavens: uncomplaining as a good servant; yea a very sweeper in his utter humility.

With mind like a wagon, bearing heavy loads: like a ship unwearied in voyaging: like a good son beholding the face of his true friend: So my son call thou thyself the patient, thy Friend call thou Physician: his precepts do thou call medicine and thy good deeds the putting of disease to flight. Call thyself Coward, thy Friend call Hero, his words of counsel thine armory and thine own good deeds the routing of the foe.

Ganda Vyuha.

It is such trusty friends who counsel us against evil, who keep us from apathy, who drive us out from the City of Samsara.

Ibid.

All these are from the Siksha Samuccaya of Santideva, a great seventh-century teacher in the University of Nalanda. It is an anthology of twenty-seven Karikas or Verses with prose comments and parallels—and forms an excellent compendium of the Madhyamaka School. It is described as "set forth for the discipline of Bodhisattvas."

(See *E. T.* by Bendall and Rouse, Murray's Indian Texts, London, 1922.)

The Bodhisattva

Our great and loving Mother Earth
Impartial is to all her sons:
So doth the Bodhisattva crave
And toil all living things to save,
As on from strength to strength he runs.
No favor doth he seek or give,
Embracing freely all that live.
So too the kind, impartial rain
Doth feed and nourish herb and tree
Until all grow luxuriantly:
Nor favor showeth anyone.
So Bodhisattvas lovingly
All creatures cherish 'neath the sun.

The Sun with kindly tempered heat
Matures and ripens rice and wheat,
Nor favor seeks nor shows.
So too the Bodhisattva glows
And warms all beings with his fire,
Nor doth a recompense desire.
Impartial too the gifts of air
Pervading, spreading everywhere.
E'en so with all-embracing skill
The Bodhisattva preaches, till
The Buddha's children all attain
The goal and end of Birth and Pain.

Kasyapa Parivarta Sutra (after D. T. Suzuki).

The Creative Word

Ode of Solomon XVI

(First century A.D.)

As the work of the husbandman is the ploughshare: and the work of the steersman is the guidance of the ship: so also my work is the Psalm of the Lord: my craft and my occupation are in His praises: because His love hath nourished my heart, and even to my lips His fruits He poured out. For my love is the Lord, and therefore I will sing unto Him: for I am made strong in His praise, and I have faith in Him. I will open my mouth and His Spirit will utter in me the glory of the Lord and His beauty; the work of His hands and the operation of His fingers: the multitude of His mercies and the strength of His word. For the word of the Lord searches out all things, both the invisible and that which reveals His thought: for the eye sees His works, and the ear hears His thought. He spread

EVANGELICAL
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

out the earth and He settled the waters in the sea: He measured the heavens and fixed the stars: and He established the creation and set it up: and He rested from His works. And created things run in their courses, and do their works: and they know not how to stand and be idle; and His heavenly hosts are subject to His Word. The treasure-chamber of the light is the Sun, and the treasury of the darkness is the night: and He made the Sun for the day that it may be bright, but night brings darkness over the face of the land; and their alterations one to the other speak the beauty of the Lord: and there is nothing that is without the Lord; for He was before any thing came into being: and the worlds were made by His word, and by the thought of His heart. Glory and honor to His name. Hallelujah.

(Translated from the Syriac by
J. Rendel Harris.)

These Odes belong in all probability to the Christian Church of the first century, and were sung by the catechumens.

The Seven Characteristics of the Dharmakaya

When Bodhisattvas think of the Dharmakaya how shall they picture Him? They shall think of the Dharmakaya by picturing the seven marks which are His essential functions and virtues. Let them think of His free and unimpaired activity manifest in all beings; of the eternity of His perfect virtue; of His perfect impartiality; of those free activities which ever spring from His will; of the inexhaustible riches, material and spiritual, which are stored in Him; of His intellectual and equitable purity, and lastly of His earthly manifestations for the salvation of all; for the Tathagatas are the express image of the Dharmakaya.

General Treatise of Asanga and Vasubandhu.

These great schoolmen of the University of Nalanda lived in the fourth or fifth century A.D.

The Adi-Buddha

From a synthesis of Hindu and Buddhist ideas is developed the doctrine of a Primordial Buddha. He is described in such words as these:

Know that when in the beginning all was void—a great emptiness (Maha Sunyata)—and the five elements had as yet no being, then Adi-Buddha, the stainless, was revealed as flame or light.

He in whom are the three Gunas, qualities . . . who is the Form of all things, became manifest: he is the self-existent great Buddha, the Primal Lord, Mahesvara, the Great Lord.

He is the Cause of all, the Sustainer of all in well-being. From his meditation the universe came into being.

He is self-existent, Isvara, all perfect, infinite, without parts or passions . . . Himself the Form of all yet without form.

He is perfect Wisdom, Truth . . . known only to those who have attained Truth.

He delights to make all things rejoice. He loves all who serve him . . . He heals pain and grief.

He is Creator and Destroyer of all.

(After B. H. Hodgson,
Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, 1836.)

Buddhist Bhakti

Faith

Faith is the guide, the womb, the guardian, the begetter and the cherisher of all virtues.

Expelling lust, bridging the stream, Faith shows to us the City of Bliss.

Faith is the calm of pure thought: rooted in honor, freed from pride.

Faith is the foot on which we go to find great treasure, the hand with which we grasp happiness.

Faith gives gladness even in self-denial. Faith gives delight in the Law of the Victor.

Faith gives the preëminence in knowledge of virtue: it guides and crowns with victory the Buddha.

Faith is a power unto keenness and clearness of morality, keeping the five great qualities from extinction.

Unconquerable by passion, Faith seeks out the noble traits of Buddhahood.

Unattached to carnal joys, delivered from evil, Faith is the truest and only joy.

Faith goes beyond the realm of Mara, and reveals the way to Deliverance.

Faith is the seed and root of virtues, Faith nourishes the tree of Wisdom, Faith increases the joys of knowledge.

Faith it is which reveals the Victorious Ones.

They who put faith in Buddha leave not the Way of Virtue. . . .

They who put faith in the Dhamma thirst after knowledge of the Victorious Ones, and aspire to their incomparable traits. . . .

They who put faith in the Sangha . . . will never fall from the strength of the true way.

Ratnalka Dharani
(6th Century A.D.)

Later Vaishnavite Bhakti

Creator and Protector

Who guards the unborn babe within the breast?
How skilled His hands, who guides and holds
This Universe! Who cherishes the little snake
That its unnatural mother would molest!
Who feeds the life within the dry cocoon,
And pulses in the living rock. Awake!
And firmly meet thy fate, says Tukaram.

Tukaram (1608-49 A.D.)

By birth a Sudra, a small shopkeeper by occupation, he was a greathearted "devotee whose hymns are probably the largest religious influence in the Maratha country." These Bhajanas are in an irregular rhymed meter. Naïve and spontaneous, they are full of trust and confidence in God, who is all-pervading, yet very present and personal. "We easily comprehend him for what he is, an unlearned man struggling with the mysteries of faith by such light as he can find. This light is sometimes reflected from the great Sanskrit classics, it is sometimes borrowed from the traditions of Krishna-worship and the Bhakti school of Bengal. It is always concentrated, however, on the image of Vitthoba at Pandhapura in which Tukaran finds a power actually present to help and save him."

Vishnu

We see Thy footprints, Vishnu, everywhere:
Lord of the misty hue, lo! all are Thine!
The ground beneath us is Thine altar-stair,
And by Thy love all days auspicious shine.
Thou art our all, our hope, our very life,
Our livelihood. The daily meal we eat
An offering is to Thee, e'en to the betel-chew!
We walk—around Thy throne circle our feet:
We sleep—before Thy Face we lie so still!
We talk with folk—to find Thine Image there.
Wells, rivers, lakes are all by Ganges filled:
Huts, palaces, alike are temples that we build
To Thee. All sounds Thy Name declare,
All worlds are Thine, that are or ever were.
Of Thy great love Thy servants take their fill.

(1703.)

He who this universe pervades
Does He not dwell within my heart?
His grace my spirit guides and aids,
My mind empowers to do its part:
My energies quiescent lie,
No purpose of my own have I.
See how the puppets dance and move:
The strings are in His hands above!

(2881.)

The Joy of Creation

Formless is He yet hath a myriad form,
God of His creatures, and their Living Norm.
His Body infinite, unfathomable,
Immaculate and indestructible!
In rapture dancing, waves of form He maketh;
When His great rapture this our body shaketh
It and the mind leap up in ecstasy!
In all our thought He dwells immersed,
In all our joys and sorrows versed,
Endless is He, beginningless
Containing all things in perpetual Bliss.

Kabir (1440-1518 A.D.)

In Kabir, the weaver of Benares, we find blended the mysticism of the Muhammedan Sufi and the monism of philosophical Hinduism. Possibly there is also Christian fervor in his hymns, for the India of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was eclectic.

An Early Christian Service

I. Liturgy of the Catechumens

1. the preparation

Lessons: On the day called Sunday, all those who live in the towns or in the country meet together; and the memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the Prophets are read, as long as time allows.

Sermon: Then, when the reader has ended, the president addresses words of instruction and exhortation to imitate these good things.

II. Liturgy of the Faithful

2. the offertory

Prayer: Then we all stand up together and offer prayers in common for ourselves and for the illuminated (*i.e.* baptized) person, and for all others in every place, that we may be counted worthy, now that we have learned the truth, by our work also to be found

good citizens and keepers of the commandments, so that we may be saved with an everlasting salvation.

Kiss of Peace (here or later):

(In another part of this Apology, Justin speaks of the Kiss as between the Prayers and the Offertory.) We salute one another with a kiss, when we have concluded the prayers.

Oblation of the Elements:

And when prayer is ended, bread is brought, and wine and water. (In another place he writes of this: Bread and a cup of wine mingled with water are then brought to the president of the brethren.)

3. THE CANON

Anaphora (Canon)

And the president offers up prayers and thanksgivings alike with all his might.

It will be remembered that no details are given by Justin. The word "thanksgivings" above is eucharistias in the original Greek. It is used also in the Didache, which is earlier than Justin (c. 90 or 100 A.D.), where a short formula is given: "As for the eucharist (thanksgiving), thus must you do it. First, for the chalice: 'We thank thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David thy servant, which thou hast made us know through Jesus thy servant. Glory to thee for ever.' For the broken bread, 'We thank thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge, which thou hast made us to know through Jesus thy servant. Glory to thee for ever. As this broken bread was scattered upon the mountains and has been gathered together to become one, so let thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy Kingdom; for to thee is the glory and the power by Jesus Christ for ever.'"

And the people give their assent, saying the Amen.

4. THE COMMUNION

And the distribution of the elements, over which thanksgiving has been uttered, is made, so that each partakes. (In another place he says: And when the president has given thanks and all the people have expressed their assent, those who are called by us "deacons" give each of those present the bread, and wine mixed with water, over which the thanksgiving was pronounced, and they carry away a portion to those who were not present.)

FOOTNOTES
BY CHAPTERS

PREFACE

[1] Hulsean Lectures, 1925.
[2] *Hibbert Journal,* October, 1924.
[3] Vol. I, No. 2.
[4] Vol. II, No. 1.
[5] *Christianity and the Race Problem,* pp. 246-7.

CHAPTER I

[1] Rig Veda III, 62.10.
[2] Rig Veda X, 90.12
[3] Matt. xxvi. 26-28, and parallels; I Cor. ii. 23-26.
[4] Acts ii. 46.
[5] Acts viii. 47.
[6] See Appendix for full text.
[7] For an account to which I am indebted, see *Everyman's History of the Prayer Book,* by P. Dearmer, London, 1912.
[8] R. H. Strachan, *The Fourth Evangelist, Dramatist or Historian?*
[9] *Bouddhisme,* p. 139.
[10] American edition, p. 54.
[11] *The Life of Reason,* p. 286.
[12] Dhammapada 29. *Cf.* Milinda Pañha V, 11: "Drink ye the medicine of truth and live." (Hereafter written Dhp.)
[13] *Religion in the Making,* p. 50, New York, 1926.
[14] *The Bhagavad Gita or Lord's Lay,* p. 3.
[15] *Sacred Books of the East,* edited by H. Kern, Vol. VIII, Introduction. (Hereafter written *S.B.E.*)
[16] Quoted by Sir Edwin Arnold in his preface to *The Song Celestial.*
[17] *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics,* Vol. II, p. 536. (Hereafter written *E.R.E.*)
[18] *Indian Theism,* p. 75.
[19] *The Young East,* Vol. II, No. 3, pp. 79-80.
[20] *Bhagavad-gita in Temple Classics.*
[21] From an Address to the Missionary Conference, Calcutta, 1924.
[22] Emile Sénart, *Le Bhagavad Gita,* p. 11.
[23] *The Missionary Message,* Vol. IV, Edinburgh Conference Reports.
[24] *Krishna and the Gita,* p. 314, Brahmo Mission Press, Calcutta.
[25] *Ibid.,* p. 90.
[26] *Hibbert Journal,* Oct., 1924.
[27] Nichiren, p. 18.

[28] *Hibbert Journal,* Vol. IV.
[29] Lotus XI, 35.40; *S.B.E.,* Vol. XXI, pp. 242-3.
[30] *S.B.E.,* Vol. XXI, Introduction.
[31] Siksha Samuccaya of Santideva.
[32] See e.g. E. W. Hopkins, *India Old and New;* R. Garbe, *Indien und das Christentum.* For full bibliography and sound canons of criticism see Clemen, *Primitive Christianity and Non-Jewish Sources.*
[33] *The Quest of the Historic Jesus,* p. 290.
[34] This theory is attacked by Berriedale Keith in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* 1909. (Hereafter written *J.R.A.S.*)
[35] See below, p. 70.
[36] *Les Mystères Paiens et le Mystère Chrétien,* pp. 355f.

CHAPTER II

[1] *The Idea of God,* p. 157.
[2] Timaeus 28c.
[3] VIII, 533.
[4] XXIV, 3.
[5] See e.g. Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism and Saivism.*
[6] *Cf.* the Buddhist Ghata Jataka and the Jain Uttaradhayana.
[7] *Indian Antiquary,* 1912. Quoted in H. Raychaudhuri's *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaishnava Sect,* Calcutta, 1920.
[8] *Cf.* Brihadaranyaka I, 4.8.
[9] Dhan Gopal Mukherji, *My Brother's Face,* p. 46.
[10] Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.,* p. 2.
[11] Dougal and Emmet, Student Christian Movement, 1921. A book admirable both for its critical judgment and reconstructive imagination.
[12] See J. Weiss, *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes,* and A. Schweitzer, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede.*
[13] Matt. xi. 27; Lk. x. 22.
[14] *Op cit.,* Lake and Foakes Jackson, Part I, pp. 401 ff.
[15] In St. Matthew's account Jesus calls God Father forty-four times and God thirty-one times; in St. Luke's he calls Him God sixty times, Father only fifteen times.
[16] Lk. iv. 18-19, quoting Isaiah lxi.
[17] It seems perverse to press the concept of God's kingdom contained in such passages as Daniel vii against all the usual OT view of it as a Kingdom of which the Jews are to be missionaries.
[18] For popular summaries against the use of this title by Jesus and for it, see the *Journal of Religion,* September, 1922, and May, 1923. For more detailed study *Journal of Biblical Literature,* Vol. XLI, 1922. For fuller discussion of the whole question of apocalyptic elements in the Gospels, see *The Lord of Thought,* Part III.
[19] It occurs sixty-nine times.
[20] Ps. viii. 4; lxxx. 18, etc.
[21] Digha Nikaya 26.
[22] Its references to the Parousia are spiritualized and freed from any idea of punishment except as a process always at work.
[23] E.g. in its account of the crucifixion days, in its realism (*cf.* iv. 6, xi. 35).
[24] E. F. Scott in the *Journal of Biblical Literature,* Vol. XLI, pp. 139-140.
[25] Mr. Kirsopp Lake's critical mind finds in this pacifism almost the only

original note in Jesus' teaching; Mr. Gandhi is sure that it was central in it. But the latter believes that it will work; and the former that it will not!

[26] Mk. viii. 29; Matt. xvi. 16.
[27] Lake, *Landmarks of Early Christianity,* p. 41.
[28] Lk. xxii. 66-71.
[29] Moffatt, *Introduction to Literature of the N.T.,* p. 541.
[30] *Quest of the Historic Jesus,* p. 401.
[31] *Ibid.,* p. 399.
[32] The title "Son of God," or its equivalent "the Son," occurs about thirty times; the title "Father" more than in all the rest of the New Testament.
[33] *Cf.* Prologue, vi, viii, xvii.
[34] *Cf.* v. 18, 19-23; xiv. 28; xvii. 5.
[35] Jn. x. 30, 33.
[36] Baron von Hügel, *The Mystical Element in Religion,* Vol. I, pp. 26-7.
[37] *Buddhist Philosophy,* p. 29.
[38] *Ibid.,* pp. 26-29.
[39] *Cf.* Theragatha CCXXX, 3.532.
[40] *Cf.* Sénart, *Origines Bouddhiques,* p. 18.
[41] Mahaparinibbana Sutta V, 16.22.
[42] Gita V, 12.19.
[43] *Buddha E. T.,* 4th ed., p. 372.
[44] *E.R.E.,* "Buddhist Ethics."
[45] *Buddhist Philosophy,* pp. 34-35.
[46] *Cf. Dialogues.*
[47] See e.g. Samyutta V, p. 437.
[48] Theragatha CCXLII. *Psalms of the Brethren,* pp. 271-4.
[49] See *S.B.E.,* Vol. XXXVI, p. 305, note.
[50] IX, 29.31.

CHAPTER III

[1] *Cf.* T. R. Glover, *Progress in Religion,* p. 239.
[2] T. R. Glover, *ibid.,* p. 233.
[3] S. Angus, *Environment of Early Christianity,* p. 109.
[4] *Cf.* I Jn. iv. 15; v. 4-5.
[5] Modern Indarpat, near Delhi.
[6] Lake, *Landmarks of Early Christianity,* pp. 94-5.
[7] Gita X, 26.
[8] Poussin, *E.R.E.,* Vol. VIII, p. 145.
[9] E.g. XII, 18.32; III, 190.65 says: "They will revive edukas (Buddhist shrines) and will neglect the gods," a proof of a late stage of the Buddhist conquest of India and of this part of the Epic.
[10] XII, 337.
[11] S. Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsiang,* p. 62.
[12] "Fitful flashes of light skillfully manipulated" were part of the Mithras cult, which sculpture shows to have been established in these lands. *Cf.* F. Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra,* p. 162.
[13] See e.g. J. N. Farquhar, *Ryland's Library Bulletin,* 1925.
[14] XVI, 9. *Cf.* I Jn. iii. 9, 10: "Children of God and children of the Devil."
[15] IV, 40.
[16] II, 42-45; IX, 20-21.
[17] II, 42.
[18] XIX.
[19] vi. 29.

[20] xiv. 17.
[21] x. 38.
[22] Jn. xx. 31.
[23] Jn. i. 14-18.
[24] I Jn. v. 21.
[25] Gita IV, 5.
[26] Gita IV, 7-9.
[27] Jn. viii. 59.
[28] Gita IV, 1.
[29] Gita VII, 6-7.
[30] Gita IX, 29.
[31] Jn. xv. 16.
[32] Jn. x. 30.
[33] Gita IX, 17.
[34] Much, it must in fairness be added, as the spiritual Oriental is repelled to find in some half-thought-out forms of Christianity the fierce tribal deity of some Hebrew writers identified with the Prince of Peace, or with the Father of Jesus!
[35] Lotus XV, 1.7.21; III, 5.104.
[36] Nichiren, p. 18.
[37] See Chapters IV and VI.

CHAPTER IV

[1] Heraclitus died about 475 B.C., Sakyamuni about 483 B.C.
[2] *Religious Teachers of Greece,* p. 225.
[3] Fragments 59.47.19. For the Text of the Fragments in Greek and German see Diel's *Fragmente der Vorsokrätiker,* p. 61. In English, Bywater in Burnet's *Early Greek Philosophy,* pp. 146-156.
[4] *Op. cit.,* p. 233. *Cf.* Fragment 30: "This world . . . was ever, is now, and ever shall be an ever-living Fire, with measures kindling and measures going out."
[5] Fragments 57 and 61.
[6] See J. Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy,* p. 301; Diels, *op. cit.,* p. 293.
[7] J. Adam, *Religious Teachers of Greece,* p. 254.
[8] *Ibid.,* p. 332.
[9] H. M. Gwatkin, *Knowledge of God,* pp. 91-2.
[10] W. L. Hare, *Mysticism of East and West,* p. 311.
[11] *E.R.E.,* Vol. VIII, p. 136.
[12] See *Lake, Landmarks of Early Christianity,* pp. 94-5; E. Bréhier, *Les Idées de Philon,* pp. 107-111.
[13] Satapatha Brahmana XI, 2.3.1; X, 3.11.
[14] Eg. Chandogya I, 12.4.5.
[15] Maitrayana IV, 56.
[16] Chand III, 14.1.
[17] Tait. II, 8; III, 10.
[18] L. D. Barnett, *Bhagavad-Gita,* pp. 9-10.
[19] Cf. IX, 27-29; IV, 5-7; VI, 47; XI, 43-44; XII, 10-20.
[20] Brihadaranyaka I, 3.28. It is part of the Satapatha Brahmana.
[21] See Appendix, pp. 229f.
[22] Brihad. II, 1.20.
[23] Isa. v. Compare Tao-te-King XXV:

"How still it lies . . . how great in ceaseless flow!
It passes on and from afar returns."

And Heraclitus Fragment 40: "It advances and retires." Fragment 83: "It rests by changing."

[24] Mundaka II, 2.1; Prasna II, 5.
[25] Brihad. II, 3.6; III, 9.26.
[26] Katha III, 15.
[27] Svet. IV, 19; *cf.* Katha VI, 9.
[28] Kena III.
[29] Mund. II, 2.5.
[30] *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads,* p. 41.
[31] Brihad. I, 4.10.
[32] Chand. III, 14.1.
[33] Chand. VI, VIII, 7.
[34] Katha II, 8.
[35] *Modern Review,* Aug., 1913.
[36] I, 4.14.
[37] 1104.
[38] Samyutta Nikaya XXXV, 116.
[39] *J.R.A.S.,* 1906, p. 961.
[40] See *S.B.E.,* Vol. XXXV, 140-141; and Berriedale Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy,* p. 43.
[41] H. M. Gwatkin, *The Knowledge of God,* p. 91.

CHAPTER V

[1] R. A. Cram, *The Heart of Europe,* p. 112.
[2] J. Drummond, *Character and Authorship,* p. 6.
[3] *Bhagavad-gita,* pp. 18, 145.
[4] *Cf.* Rig. Veda X, 81.90; Svetasvatara III. 3.

CHAPTER VI

[1] Mundaka III, 2.8.
[2] As many Christian mystics, such as Eckhart, call it "Nothingness," so Buddhist mystics, like Nagarjuna, call it Sunyata, "Void."
[3] Tait. II, 4.6.
[4] Brihad. I, 3.38.
[5] XVIII, 65.
[6] XVIII, 66.
[7] VI, 30.
[8] For fuller details, see the following passages:

A. Release from Samsara: II, 51; IV, 9; V, 17; XIII, 23; VIII, 15-16; XIV, 2.20.
B. Peace: Supreme Peace: II, 70, 71; IV, 39; V, 29; VI, 7; IX, 31; XXIII, 62.
C. Supreme Way, Path: IX, 32; XIII, 28.34; XVI, 22.
D. Brahman, Brahman-nirvana: II, 72; V, 24-26; VI, 27; XIII, 12-17.
E. Union with Krishna: IV, 9-10; VI, 15.31; VII, 1.30; VIII, 15; IX, 28.

[9] Gita XV, 6.
[10] *The World and the Individual,* Vol. I, p. 193.
[11] Gita V, 25.
[12] E.g. V, 24-26.
[13] See *Buddhism in Translations,* p. 173.
[14] *Buddhism in Translations,* p. 59.
[15] *Ibid.,* p. 87.
[16] I, 6.8.
[17] *Die Buddhistische Versenkung,* p. 42; quoted in *Pali Dictionary,* p. 198.
[18] *S.B.E.,* Vol. XXXVI, p. 203; Mil. Pan. IV, 8.88.
[19] I, 84.
[20] XV, 7.
[21] See Appendix, pp. 218-19.
[22] *Idem.*
[23] The phrase occurs seventeen times in the Fourth Gospel, and six times in the First Epistle.
[24] Deut. viii. 3.
[25] Matt. x. 39; vi. 25; Lk. xii. 15.
[26] Mk. x. 17.
[27] *Cf.* Mark x. 30; Lk. xviii, 30.
[28] v. 24.
[29] vi. 54.
[30] Gal. ii. 20.
[31] *Cf.* Jn. vi. 48-56; xi. 25-6; xiv. 19-20; Col. i. 27; Gal. ii. iv. 19.
[32] Jn. xvii. 3.
[33] Jn. ix. 25-26.
[34] Col. i. 16-17.

CHAPTER VII

[1] Kaushitaka III, 1.
[2] Chandogya IV, 14.3.
[3] The Johannine doctrine, "They that are led by the Spirit cannot sin," has more than once been misinterpreted as antinomianism by certain medieval mystics, "Brothers of the Free Spirit."
[4] Isa. 6. Even so, we have to note that the Vedas may not be given to sudras.
[5] E.g. XII, 17-18; see below.
[6] Katha II, 19.
[7] Chand. 4.4.1.4.
[8] *Cf.* Dhp. 394.54.
[9] Katha I, 3.6.
[10] Dhp. 160.
[11] *Cf.* Brihad. IV, 4.23. Kathaka II, 24.25.
[12] Chandogya V, 10.1.
[13] Tait. III, 10.1.
[14] Chand. III, 17.4.
[15] Dhp.
[16] *Samyutta Nikaya,* V, p. 437; Poussin, *Bouddhisme,* p. 58.
[17] Uravagga 181-183. *S.B.E.,* Vol. X, p. 30.
[18] *Discourses,* tr. by Silacara, I, 18; *cf.* Vyaggapajja Sutta in *Heart of Buddhism,* pp. 89-96:

"Thus happy here he lives below
And later glad to heaven shall go."

[19] Udana, p. 68; Rhys Davids, *Dialogues,* p. 187.

[20] Dhp. 333.
[21] Dhp. V, 223.
[22] Mil. Pan. VII, 6-7.
[23] Majj. Nik. 1.129.
[24] For a list of such synonyms of Tanha see S. Tachibana, *Buddhist Ethics*, pp. 73-75.
[25] P. Oltramare, *La Théosophie Bouddhique*, p. 526.
[26] Dhp. 372.
[27] *Buddhist Essays*, p. 130.
[28] *E.R.E.*, "Buddhist Ethics."
[29] Section xv.
[30] *Cf.* Dhp. 207 with Matt. v. 13, 38-48.
[31] *Cf.* Dhp. 412.
[32] Theragatha 203; Dhp. 29.
[33] Visuddhi Magga.
[34] Dhp. 21.
[35] Dhp. 337.
[36] Dhp. 130.
[37] Dhp. 103.
[38] Dhp. 391.
[39] Minor Rock Edict I.
[40] *Cf.* Matt. v. 48; xxv. 35, 41.
[41] E.g. The Judgment Scene, Matt. xxv. 34-46, and the parable of Dives and Lazarus.
[42] For a modern example of this teaching see Dhan Gopal Mukherji, *My Brother's Face*, p. 4, where the Holy One of Benares says, "Beware, beware; good can choke up a soul as much as evil"; and Pundit Mahabhagavat, *The Heart of the Bhagavad-gita*: "There is great spiritual danger in thinking that the world is in need of our help."
[43] *Cf.* e.g. Matt. xviii. 6; Lk. xvii. 2; Matt. vii. 1, 2; v. 21.
[44] *Cf.* Lk. xxii. 24; Matt. xxiii. 11.

CHAPTER VIII

[1] VI, 5.7.24; XIII, 22.
[2] V, 29.
[3] XVI, 8.
[4] II, 144; XI, 39-40.
[5] XII, 4.
[6] I Jn. v. 19.
[7] Lotus, *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXI, p. 44; Gita IX, 3.
[8] Lotus, *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXI, p. 130; Jn. ix. 3.
[9] XIII, 43.59
[10] XIII, 17; XII, 14.
[11] Gita VI, 9.
[12] *Cf.* Jn. xiii.
[13] Brihad. V, 4; Gita *passim*.
[14] Dhp. 44-5.
[15] I Jn. v. 4.
[16] I Jn. iii. 9.
[17] Jn. xii. 1-8; Lotus II, 81; Gita IX, 26.
[18] Jn. xv. 14; Gita V, 29; Lotus XIII, 51.
[19] Lotus XVI, 62; Jn. xiv. 23; Gita IX, 29.

[20] Gita IV, 39; XVIII, 55; Lotus X, 1; XIII, 57; Jn. viii. 32.
[21] Jn. xiv. 6.
[22] *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 212.
[23] Gita V, 8; VI, 8.
[24] Gita X, 36-37.
[25] HarDyal in *The Young East*, Vo. II, No. 3.
[26] Bodhicaryavatara, cf. Buddhaghosa's words quoted by Estlin Carpenter in *Buddhism and Christianity*, p. 117.
[27] *Cf.* Lotus XIII, *passim*.
[28] Gita XVI, 1-3.
[29] Gita XVIII, 42-44.
[30] Lotus XXVII, 1; *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 440-441.
[31] Gita III, 35.
[32] For Vedantic reasoning, Gita II, 11, and for Sankhyan III, 17.27.
[33] So from tanha arises sorrow, etc.
[34] Lotus III, 101-2.
[35] Gita V, 10.11.
[36] Gita II, 58.
[37] *Cf.* Lotus XVI, p. 323, with Gita II, 33-37.
[38] *Heart of the Bhagavad Gita*, p. 64.
[39] Brihad. IV, 4.5.
[40] Dhp. 127-8.
[41] *Cf.* Gita IX, 30, with Lotus *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXI, p. 247.
[42] W. R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, p. 217.
[43] "The Sunset of the Century" in *Nationalism*.

CHAPTER IX

[1] Jn. iv. 24; I Jn. iv. 8.
[2] Jn. iii. 16.
[3] Ceaseless work is also characteristic of the Universe in some passages of the Gita, e.g. III, 5; XVIII, 40.
[4] Haupt, quoted by Stevens in *The Johannine Theology*, p. 73.
[5] G. A. Smith, *Life of Alexander Duff*, chap. viii.
[6] Manikkar Vachakar (1000 A.D.); Tiru-Vachakam 195 (Pope).
[7] Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs (Jn. i. 9; viii. 32).
[8] Gita VII, 1.
[9] Gita XV, 12; VII, 6; IV, 8.
[10] *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XXII, p. 385.
[11] *Vaishnavism and Saivism*, p. 2, note.
[12] *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 140.
[13] Gita II, 13.
[14] Gita II, 22.
[15] Lotus V, 78.
[16] *India Old and New*, pp. 120-168. For good discussions for and against see *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, by Grierson, Keith, and others.
[17] Jn. xvii. 3; Gita X, 3.
[18] Jn. xiv. 21; Gita IV, 11.
[19] Gita X, 3; XIV, 3-4; XVIII, 61; IV, 6-8; VII, 17; XVIII, 66.
[20] Gita X, 34.20; XI, 27-30.
[21] *Cf.* Lotus XXIV.
[22] Gita VII, 23, etc.
[23] *Light from the Ancient East*, p. 262.

[24] Even Dr. Rhys Davids makes this mistake (*cf. Sacred Books of the Buddhists,* Vol. II, p. 163 n.).
[25] H. M. Gwatkin, *The Knowledge of God,* Vol. II, p. 81.
[26] T. R. Glover, *Progress in Religion,* p. 350.

CHAPTER X

[1] *Christianity and History,* p. 44.
[2] Avatamsaka Sutra.
[3] Sutta Nipata 148-9; Saunders, *Heart of Buddhism,* p. 46.
[4] *The Christ of the Indian Road.*
[5] See *The Jesus of History,* chap. viii.
[6] *Cf.* his article in *Harvard Theological Review,* Oct., 1922.
[7] E. J. Thompson, *Rabindranath Tagore,* p. 101.
[8] See Gitanjali 31.
[9] M. Anesaki, "Social Unrest and Spiritual Education in Present-Day Japan," *Harvard Theological Review,* Oct., 1922; *Religion and Social Problems of the Orient,* p. 66.
[10] Avatamsaka Sutra II.
[11] The date is uncertain; probably fifth century A.D., but many attribute it to Asvaghasa (first century A.D.)
[12] *Cf.* H. R. Mackintosh, *The Originality of the Christian Message,* p. 26: "Whereas every other historic and prophetic religion makes progress by transcending its founder, Christianity has grown in life and power in exact proportion as from time to time it recovers touch with Jesus, submits more loyally to His will, and accepts with a deeper gratitude the life of worship He imparts."

APPENDIX

[1] One of the many names of the Sun god.
[2] *Tao,* way, *Tai,* great—a play on words.

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